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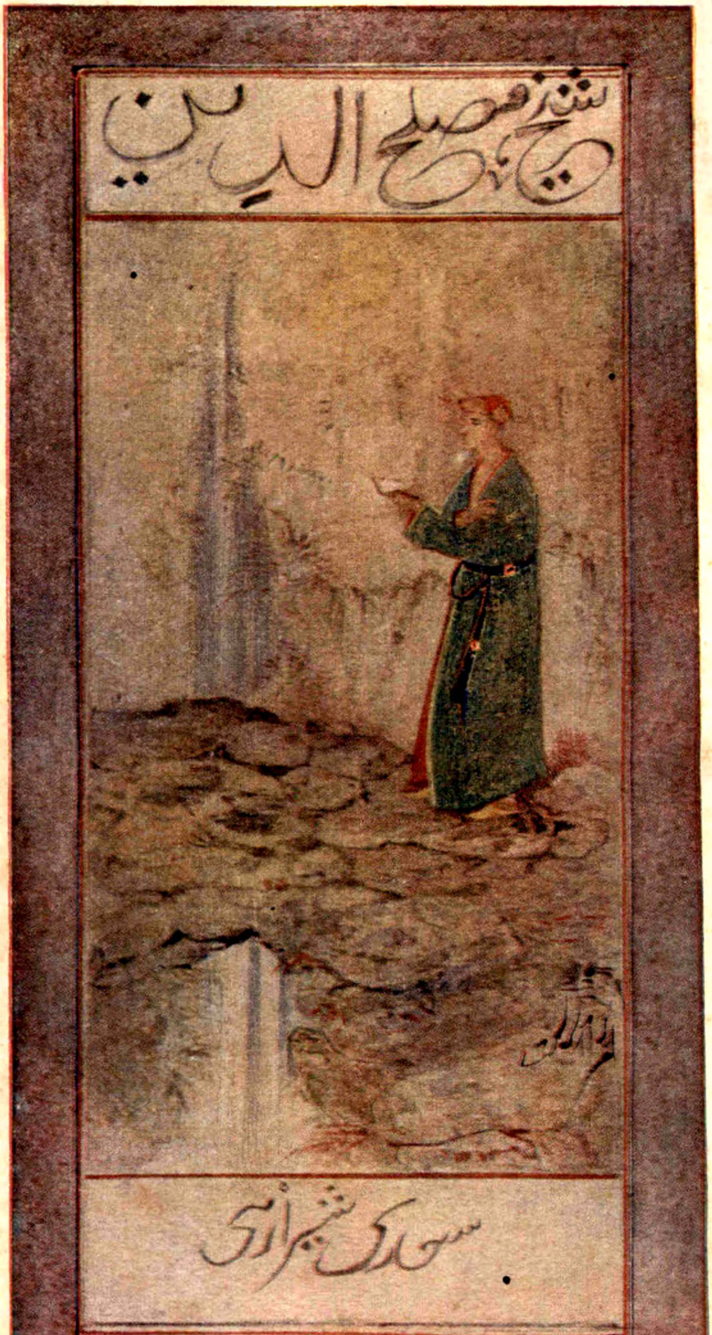
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سعدی شیرازی

THE POET

Artist—Professor Abanindranath Tagore, D.Lit.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

APRIL, 1927

THE ANNUAL CONVOCATION

His Excellency the Chancellor's Address[1]

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

For the fifth and last time I address you in Convocation. If, as Aristotle tells us, it is difficult to say a second time what one has in essence said before, how can I hope to speak in this Hall for a fifth time without wearying you by repetition or traversing familiar ground ? I am encouraged, however, by the knowledge that though the scene is the same as that in which I first spoke in 1923 my audience is a different one. The present Vice-Chancellor is the fourth, with whom I have been privileged to work, and though there are some professors and heads of colleges who have been present at the last four convocations the bulk of my audience—the students—come fresh to the scene every year. And since it is for them rather than for their teachers and professors that this ceremony is held I may without any apology repeat to this year's recipients of degrees the words of encouragement that I have addressed to their predecessors.

In the first place, Ladies and Gentlemen, let me congratulate you on having successfully passed the examination which found anywhere they must be found here. They are among those whom I see before me.''

---

[1] Delivered at the Senate House, February 19, 1927.

So as I gaze upon this gathering of young men and women who are standing upon the threshold of life, I feel that here, if anywhere, are to be found those of whom India will have need in the years to come. What, then, can I say to you in order to prepare you for this high destiny ? There was an old Philosopher once who, when asked by his friends on his death-bed if he had anything to regret, replied " I have only one regret that in my life I did not praise men more.''

I must confess that I have never derived much benefit from those preachers who addressed their congregations as the inheritors of every sin and doomed to perdition, unless they could be saved by a special measure of divine mercy, but I have been much helped and encouraged by those who honoured me with their good opinion. It is as one who believes in you, who expects much of you, that I speak. Emerson says that it is only a friend who can make us be what we can—with a friend "we are easily great, there is a sublime attraction in him to whatever virtue is in us.''

It is as a friend then in this sense, as one who pays you the complement of expecting from you all the virtues, that I would address you to-day, and my only message to you is to remind you of the great possibilities which lie before you, the great things which it is in your power to accomplish—India has a very ancient civilization behind her, but she has also a great future before her. In the modern world she is only just beginning to wake out of long sleep. She has been the cradle of many races but as a nation among nations she has still herself to make and her place to assert. In Industry, in Commerce, in Science, in Literature in Art, in Politics she needs more than ever before men and women with trained minds and upright characters—and the need for women is perhaps even greater than that for men. India needs you for her service and she expects that already in your college days you shall predominating in all their being. And we are now men and must accept in the highest mind the same transcendent destiny; as guides, redeemers and benefactors, obeying the Almighty Effort and advancing on Chaos and the Dark.'' Could any words more fittingly describe the work which awaits the generation which in India to-day is just beginning its life work ? When I think of all the problems, insoluble except to the eye of faith, of all the difficulties that have to be overcome, of all the diversities that have to be reconciled, I realize how great is the need for a generation rich in individuality, sincere in purpose, courageous in action.

For individual achievement these qualities may suffice, but if you are to be nation-builders there is another which is equally essential, indeed without which all other qualities are useless. That is tolerance, trust in others equal to the trust in yourself, the willingness to concede to all men the liberty you would yourself enjoy, that power to associate with others for a common good which the Vice-Chancellor has spoken of.

However shapely and well-proportioned a brick may be, however perfect the quality of stone marble, they are useless as building material unless they possess the power to coalesce. The brick that insists on remaining a brick is useless except for the destructive purpose of being used as a missile. What India needs is not dynamite but cement, not brickbats but walls, men and women who will live for her rather than die for her. It is easy enough to die for a cause but to live for it is harder. To remain true to a cause throughout a life-time, to grow wiser and stronger in its service, to work for it always on the condition that no other is injured thereby—that is a task which will test a man to the utmost.

To such a task I hope you are prepared to devote yourselves and in the accomplishment of it to unite with all who share your ideals, regardless of the barriers of caste or creed.

Gentlemen, I have valued my association with your University during the five years in which it has been my privilege claims the sentiment and devotion of Bengal in a way which no other institution in the Province can hope to emulate and the public, which can now through their minister control educational policy will, I am convinced, not tolerate obstruction to reform for with their pride in the intellectual capacity of the Province they will not rest satisfied with anything but the best, nor will they allow reform to prejudice the permanent interests of the University. Changes will come and I shall watch them from afar with interest and with sympathy. And so I say farewell in hope and expectancy, confident that the harvest for which I have worked will be brought to maturity before many years have passed and that Bengal, which I have tried to serve will not rest, as I have never rested, until the grain glows golden and ripe for the harvester.

greater or less regularity for half a century ; the Council of the League of Nations corresponds less closely to the international committees which, as in the case of the International Union of Weights and Measures, had been meeting with greater frequency ; and the Secretariat of the League of Nations finds its prototype in the bureaux maintained by some of the unions, particularly the five international bureaux at Berne. Of course this correspondence cannot be pressed too far ; past experience had shown that some departures were necessary ; the efforts of the Hague Conferences had focussed attention on the conflict between the political dogma of state equality on the one hand and the political fact of the hegemony of certain Powers on the other hand ; and with the ending of the World War, the time was ripe for experimentation with some new ideas. But the fact remains that we had already passed through a long period of endeavour to implement the new world society with agencies whose operation was not confined to single states, and the teachings of that experience were available when the time arrived for a more thoroughgoing effort to organize the world community.

I suppose it was inevitable that as soon as the League of Nations was organized it should be invested in popular opinion with a distinct personality. People at once began to think of it as a political entity comparable in a larger way with the states which were its members. In some parts of the world there were those who condemned it as a super-state threatening to undermine the prized sovereignty and independence of national states, while others welcomed it as a super-state which might in time be guided by a world opinion which would organize itself independently of the prevailing nationalism. As soon as the activities of the League of Nations got under way, it was easy for the former group to "blame the League" for many of the throes through which the post-War world had to pass ; and the temptation was great for people in the latter group to claim "credit for the League" for any successful efforts to alleviate the difficulties of post-War reconstruction.

I have often heard the League of Nations condemned as a league of governments and not a league of peoples. It is an accurate description in many ways, but I cannot think that the condemnation proceeds from an accurate appraisal of the present possibilities of international action. If the future holds in store some sort of world government which does not depend on national governments, I find it impossible to discover any indication of it now. The War has intensified rather than diminished the spirit of nationalism, and at the present time it would seem that progress in organizing world society depends upon the collaboration of national governments. It is to extend that collaboration, already begun before the War, that a new method has been adopted, and intelligent support of the method seems to call for our seeing it clearly as such. This does not refer to certain legal theories of the nature of the League of Nations, which may be invented to enable certain things to be done. For instance, property in Geneva has been acquired by the League of Nations as such, and to this extent it may be classed as a corporation.[1]

I sometimes fear that some friends of the League of Nations, are rendering a disservice by continuing to regard it as more than a way of doing business. When some progress is made, they are tempted to claim "credit for the League," as if the credit belonged to a single political body and not to the various governments which have united to achieve a desirable end. I have frequently been asked what is the attitude of the League toward particular international problems. Such questions are based on the confusion which I would fain dispel. A method does not have attitude, a way of doing business does not formulate judgment. But with reference to any particular problem the government of each of the Members of the League of Nations may have an attitude and may seek at Geneva to have it shared by the governments of other Members. The difference is more than a difference in inadequate such a programme appears to-day! The wildest optimist would hardly have predicted before August, 1914, that within little more than a decade the world would have grown accustomed to annual international conferences at which the representatives of more than fifty Powers would be able to consider many of the current problems of international affairs. Yet that has actually been achieved to-day, and we have come to count with a degree of confidence on a session of the Assembly beginning on the first Monday in each September.

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[1] See 20 American Political Science Review, p. 847.

The action of the Assembly is limited not only by its size, but also by the principle of unanimity. Some of the unions to which I referred in my previous lecture succeeded in making significant departures from that principle, and the Assembly itself has established a practice of liberality with respect to certain types of resolutions which do not strictly relate to procedure. But I doubt whether much purpose is to be served at the present time by an insistence on formalization of more radical departures. It has sometimes been suggested that certain measures taken by the Assembly might be deemed to be binding on all Members of the League which do not actively dissent. No such suggestion is likely to win favour in an actively nationalist era, and premature steps of the sort might lead to an unfortunate setback. It seems enough of a task, for the present, to establish the Assembly firmly as a forum of general discussion, as a meeting place of statesmen, and as a centre for broadcasting the raw materials of world opinion. By its review of everything that is done through the Council and through League commissions, and by its control of the finances of the League, the Assembly already exercises powers which give it prestige and importance, and attempts to make it an executive body can hardly be destined to increase its usefulness.

The conference method which we call the League of Nations also includes a smaller international conference which during seven years has been meeting on the average of six times and it has now—at the seventh Assembly—been increased to fourteen. Though this latest increase is attributed to a desire "to take account in a more comprehensive and equitable measure of the principle of geographical distribution of seats," it must be explained as due to persistent demands which could not practically be ignored, and it yet remains to be seen whether the Council will continue its effectiveness undiminished. With the privilege of special representation, each state not regularly represented on the Council could prevent any serious compromise of its interests, and the larger body has now lost a certain psychological advantage in its deliberations. The desire for regular representation on the Council gives fresh indication, however, of the prestige already acquired for this new method of international co-operation.

It is a bit surprising that through these seven years the work of the Council has proceeded so smoothly. This is not because many questions about its organisation and procedure do not still remain open. The allocation of functions as between the Assembly and the Council has never been clearly determined. The Covenant provides that both may deal "with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world"; yet the uncertainty has caused little friction since the time of the first Assembly when a conflict arose over their jurisdiction as to mandates. Nor has it been formally determined what constitutes that interest in a matter which will entitle a state to special representation on the Council. Questions as the requirement of unanimity remain open, also, and when the Mosul dispute was being heard, they necessitated a request for an advisory opinion from the Permanent Court of International Justice. But in spite of these points and others which might be mentioned, the willingness to cooperate has been such that the Council has been able to carry on, and gradually a practice accumulates itself which may serve the needs of the future. I think the Council's success far exceeds what most cautious students would have been willing to predict passports—all of which have been held—and the economic conference which is planned to meet this year, are outstanding examples of conferences of this type. I suspect that many people in 1920 anticipated that more of this activity might be entrusted to the Assembly itself, but it would have meant an undue enlargement of the personnel of the various delegations in the Assembly to have included the experts necessary for such varied subjects.[2] In the fourth place, there are some questions which because they are of special interest to a few states or to states not members of the League, must be considered at conferences held outside of this system—the Washington Conference on Limitation of Naval Armaments is an example. In all of these ways the post-War world proceeds with the task of government, and the progress since the War has far outstripped that of any previous period in the world's history.

But the development of this conference method of dealing with international affairs was not the end and aim of the League of Nations. It was only a means of serving other ends. And we should now turn our attention to some of the functions of the League of Nations in modern world society, and make an effort to say how they are being discharged.

During the progress of the World War, the conviction was borne in upon people on both sides of that struggle that some way ought to be found for nations to live together which would avoid such fratricidal horror. In some of the countries arrayed against Germany and her allies, the belief took root that such a way could be found by all the nations joining in a pledge to use their power against a disturber of the world's peace, it being stipulated in advance what would constitute a nation such a disturber. The psychology of the War itself and the necessity of creating a *moral* which would continue it, led people on both sides to think of the struggle as due to the deliberate purpose of a single nation. I suspect that few of us view the matter so simply to-day. But when the Peace Conference met at Paris in 1919, the statesmen of the victorious countries found themselves dealing with a powerful public opinion, partly of their own creation, which demanded that every effort be made to provide for the common use of force against any state which might run amuck in the future. In the United States of America we had had a powerful "League to Enforce Peace" which was organized on that platform, and in other countries opinion had developed in the same direction.

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[2] The Indian delegation to the seventh Assembly has expressed the view that an assembly session is an inappropriate occasion for the conclusion of separate international agreements which are intended to be open for immediate signature. See its Interim Report, p. 38.

It was inevitable, therefore, that as the League of Nations was founded at the end of the War and partly as a result of it, its Covenant should express that purpose. Article 10 of the Covenant pledges the Members of the League in a general way to protect each other against external aggression. Article 11 declares any war or any threat of war to be a matter of general concern to all of the Members of the League, Article 16 declares any resort to war in disregard of the procedure laid down for preventing hostilities, an act of war against all other Members of the League, which are committed at once to an application of certain economic sanctions and which may be advised by the Council as to their employment of force itself. These obligations were very sweeping, and they were bound to have given rise to much difference of opinion. No doubt they were as well drafted as was possible with the differences in viewpoint prevailing at Paris; but they were not so well drafted as to leave no room for long controversies as to their meaning. They had to be studied by peoples who were accustomed to different ways of reading the written word—in some parts of the world the general language of Article 10 was given its general meaning, in others it was viewed as a model of precision which left no scope for interpretation. The result was exaggerated fears which the interpretative efforts of the Assembly have not yet dispelled, and which have been influential in keeping one country at least outside the membership of the League.

Perhaps enough time has now elapsed since the Peace Conference at Paris for one to see how these efforts to enforce peace were influenced by the excesses of the time. Certainly President Wilson's view, expressed in the heat of bitter controversy, that Article 10 is the heart of the Covenant, will hardly be shared by most of the people who during these years have borne the brunt of the responsibility for the success of this experiment. And the view seems to be widely held that the practical difficulties of enforcing economic sanctions are such as to render that provision in Article 16 of little value. Few people in countries which are Members of the League have ever supposed that Article 16 empowers the Council to control the use of their armed forces, and the crucial decisions which would have to be taken if it were quite clear that a particular country were the aggressor in a war still rest where they would rest if Article 16 did not exist. It may be doubted, therefore, whether the attempt made at Paris to enforce peace will succeed; a test has not yet come, and much will depend upon the particular way that it does come. Some purpose may be served by having this part of the Covenant formulated in advance; it may have the effect of adding to the deterring forces in some cases, and even when words do not execute themselves they sometimes serve as useful pegs upon which insistences may be made to hang.

Whatever be one's judgment of the provisions of the Covenant, I think he has to say that the use of the League of Nations method of handling acute international situations during these seven years has been so satisfactory as to warrant high hopes for the future. The record may not fulfil the extravagant expectations entertained in 1919—few were the interested people of that day who did not expect too much; but it does justify us in believing that a great advance has been made over that time when no machinery existed and no procedure had been developed for conferences in situations which threatened war. In a number of instances, the usefulness of the new method has been proved. The first outstanding case was that of the Aaland Islands, where a question falling quite clearly into the category of matters affecting "vital interest and national honour" usually excepted from the application of pre-War methods of peaceful settlement, was handled in such a way that it has ceased to agitate the politics of Finland and Sweden, the countries concerned. It was followed by the prolonged difficulty between Poland and Lithuania over the territory of Vilna, and if one cannot yet say that this difficulty has vanished still it has not led to open hostilities. The frontier disputes between Albania and Jugo-Slavia grew very threatening at one time, and that was the only occasion when serious reference has been made to executing Article 16; but those disputes have passed without occasioning a war. The difficult question of the boundary between Germany and Poland in Upper Silesia was successfully handled by the Powers acting through the League of Nations, and if the result is not permanent, it is proving at any rate the bridge upon which the two countries have passed and are passing to more friendly relations. The occupation of Corfu by Italian forces created a very tense situation which was certainly alleviated by the conferences held in Geneva. The inability of Great Britain and Turkey to agree upon the allocation of the Vilayet of Mosul as between Iraq and Turkey, created a situation which might easily have led to war, but which was settled by an award which all parties have now accepted. In 1925, the border trouble between Bulgaria and Greece was so serious that a war would have seemed almost inevitable if there had been no recognised and acknowledged forum in which Bulgaria could seek redress for hostile incursion. In all of these cases, the League method has been employed, and employed with success. They were not all dealt with in precisely the same way. Some of them required the utilization of other agencies as well. Some of them may not have been handled according to all peoples' ideas of justice. But in all of them, the world has had reason for satisfaction that a new

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method of proceeding was available and was in fact resorted to. I do not want to leave the impression that I think that a war was clearly averted in any one of these cases. We cannot see the wars that do not happen. Perhaps other ways out might have been found in every single case. Nor am I claiming any " credit for the League " for what was actually achieved. My insistence is that this record justifies our thinking that the new method is serving the needs of our time and offers prospect for greater harmony in the international community in the future. If it had been in vogue in 1914, the recent history of the world might have been very different.

It is fortunate, I think, that no attempt has been made to apply any absolute conceptions of justice in the instances which I have enumerated. The League method consists in bringing representatives of the disputing states together around a table for an open discussion of their differences ; it does not mean that any specific is at hand for any trouble which may arise. Nor can we be certain that this discussion will always avail to keep the peace. It is worth a great deal to have a table ready, and the agencies of communication available for such discussion to be begun. The representatives of other Powers assert the general interest in the preservation of peace, and sit in readiness to explore possible ways of settlement. Public attention is focussed on such a meeting, and in such a situation as that created by the Corfu crisis an informed public opinion can make itself felt as a powerful deterrent to precipitate action.

It seems to be easy for a public to oversimplify many international problems and to suppose that the course of justice is clear and unmistakable ; but if the experience of the last few years is studied, I think it will demonstrate the frequent necessity of trying many expedients before any settlement can be reached. It is important to have not one forum, but many ; to be able to shift the discussion from the one forum to another as an *impasse* is reached in the one, and in many cases to shift it back again. The Mosul case will illustrate my meaning; the Council first considered the situation; it then created a commission to visit the territory in dispute; it reached an *impasse* in dealing with the report at that commission; it requested an advisory opinion of the Permanent Court of International Justice; it created a second commission to report on the maintenance of the *status quo*; and it reached a final decision more than a year after it became seised of the dispute. Such a process requires not only machinery, but continuous and patient use of it. None of us needs to cherish the feeling that it is a simple matter to maintain the world's peace, nor indeed that it can be maintained in all cases. Instances may well arise in which the League method cannot most usefully be applied; I am not sure that the non-participation of the United States of America and the dispute of the historic government's authority do not make the present situation in China one of them. Other instances may arise in which the League of Nations method may fail; certainly its invariable success is not assured. But what we can be sure of, I think, is that the effort at rational solution is worth while, and if the alternative of war. which usually gives no solution at all, can ever be justified, it is only after every other possible course has been fully explored.

But the facilitation of efforts to prevent war is not the only advantage which accrues from co-operation conducted by the method of the League of Nations. Quite as significant for the future is the attempt now being made by more than fifty nations to deal with a large number of matters which require something resembling administrative action. The numerous committees and commissions now maintained on a more or less permanent basis, each dealing with some special matter of general concern, had no counterpart in the pre-War situation. It was not because the problems did not exist before the War, nor because there was no desire to deal with them; but simply because no form of organization had been developed which made it possible. To-day, there is hardly a week in the year when some international conference is not being held in Geneva, and the volume of constructive work already accomplished is so significant that this kind of co-operation now seems indispensable for the future.

I shall speak first of the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, for it represents most strikingly the new method of asserting the general interest in matters which before the War were left to national control. It was one of the consequences of the industrial revolution that some of the peoples whose industry was most highly organized began to exercise political power over other peoples who might furnish them markets or raw materials. The continent of Africa became prey to imperialistic expansion, and many were the scandals which came out of the relations between the invaders and the indigenous population. Some of these scandals shocked the whole world. The atrocities reported to have been committed in the Belgian Congo aroused great resentment among various peoples and led to many efforts at protestation. Such was the feeling in several Western countries, at any rate, that the governments would have been moved to action if any avenue had been open for it. But there was no avenue open. There was no system of accountability in such matters. There was no way for the general interest in humane relationships to be asserted. One has only to read Lord Grey's recent memoirs, entitled "Twenty-five Years," to appreciate the difficulties which thwarted the British Government's desire to use its influence effectively toward improving the situation in the Congo. It was clear at the end of the War, therefore, that some system of accountablity had to be devised before any more territorial expansions in such areas would be justified. The decision to deprive Germany of her overseas possessions is quite another matter, and I would not attempt to justify that decision. But once it was determined that a change was to be made, the interests of the international community quite clearly demanded the creation of machinery and methods for enforcing the accountability which pre-War experience had shown to be necessary. And that office is being served to-day, under Article 22 of the Covenant, by the activities of the Permanent Mandates Commission. One does not need to think that the mandate system is perfect, he may think that it was inaugurated at the Peace Conference as a disguise for annexation, he may find the administration of certain of the mandated territories most unsatisfactory, he may object to the placing of certain territories under mandate ; but I think we have to say that if control over certain peoples by others is to be continued at all, the system represents a great advance over anything that was in vogue before the War, and that it is pregnant with possibilities of future development which may correct many evils.

No other part of the co-operation through the League of Nations has been the subject of such wide misunderstanding as the mandate system. The impression seems to prevail in some quarters that it is a method of direct government by the League of Nations, and as a consequence it is assumed that a power exists in some body at Geneva to correct particular measures of what is thought to be mis-government taken in a mandated territory. Such an impression seems to mistake international accountability for international administration. I am quite convinced that the task of a mandatory Power would soon become impossible if its every action were subject to appeal and review by other Powers acting through one of the agencies of the League. But it is quite possible that better methods of enforcing accountability than have been in practice during the past seven years can be devised. Certainly it is not enough that the Permanent Mandates Commission should be confined to receiving reports from mandatory Powers after troubles have occurred. If the recent proposal of the Commission that it be allowed to receive petitions from the inhabitants of mandated territories in exceptional cases cannot be accepted, some other method should be invented for giving to such inhabitants an opportunity of presenting views which the mandatory may not approve.

A somewhat allied attempt is being made by the Council of the League of Nations in exercise of the power conferred upon it by the various treaties for the protection of racial, religious and linguistic minorities. In certain countries of Western Europe, the possibility of maintaining international peace is very closely connected with the treatment accorded to minorities. Any territorial readjustment in that part of the world, in 1919, would have been precarious ; but it was almost certain to be more so unless some way could have been found for assuring to the inhabitants of transferred territories a minimum of consideration for their racial, religious and linguistic traditions. In making these treaties a part of the peace settlement itself, and in conditioning the sanction of certain transfers of territory on their acceptance, the Peace Conference at Paris was but following precedents of long standing. Elaborate provisions had been drawn up at the Congress of Berlin in 1878 for protecting the minorities in several of the Balkan States, but in some instances they had proved wholly ineffective because there was no way for other countries to seek to have them enforced. One does not need to believe that the new treaties will be observed to the letter, to see that they may serve a very useful purpose. It is something that their provisions, which are far more detailed than those elaborated by the Congress of Berlin, are put in such a form that they can give the starting-point for discussions of constitutional guarantees. And it can only be considered an advance to have the possibility of the Council's consideration of cases of flagrant abuse. Such cases may under the treaties be brought to its attention by the government of any state represented on the Council ; but in practice a much more liberal procedure is followed, and any *bona fide* petition from an aggrieved minority actually receives the attention of a committee of the Council. If one compares this situation with that prevailing in 1902 when the United States of America protested about the treatment of Jews in Roumania, I think he has to say that progress has been made in dealing with this great problem which is at once local and general.

I do not propose to deal at length with the work of all of the League commissions which I am sure you will agree is very important. The Health Committee has rendered the whole world a signal service in the establishment of an epidemiological intelligence service ; and the recent organization of an intelligence centre at Singapore must have been greatly welcomed in this part of the world. Its international exchanges of public health personnel promise the beginning of a movement which, if continued, may come to mean that the whole world will in time be speaking a common language of public health administration. The Economic Committee has rendered the greatest service in dealing with the serious problems growing out of the aftermath of the War, and the success of the reconstruction undertaken in Austria and Hungary and the refuged settlement schemes launched in Greece and Bulgaria is one of the brightest chapters in our post-War history. Even when normal conditions may come to prevail in the world again, the need for such a committee will continue. The Advisory Committee on Transit and Communications meets a demand of the international community which has been long neglected in the past, as a simple enumeration of questions considered during the past year will indicate ; these questions related to inland navigation and ports, maritime navigation, the unification of tonnage measurement, safety of ships at sea, buoyage and the lighting of coasts, railways, passports, road traffic, telegraph and telephone communications, transmission of water-power, unification of law relating to inland navigation, and the reform of the calendar. The common interest of nations in such matters was recognised as long ago as 1865, when a convention was signed by various Powers for the maintenance of the Cape Spartel lighthouse on the western shore of Morocco; but without such machinery as has now been created, it received but spasmodic attention. The Government of India has taken a very special interest in the work of the Advisory Committee on traffic in opium and dangerous drugs, and it is within the past few days that we have read of the election of Sir John Campbell, your Indian representative, as chairman of that Committee. The people of Calcutta must also have taken a lively interest in the work of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, in which your distinguished scientist, Sir Jagadis Bose, has played an important part.

Each of these activities, and many others as well, would deserve to be the subject of a whole lecture. But I want to speak only of their general effect, and of the effect of all the co-operation by this method, on the intelligence of the modern world in its approach to international affairs. I think it is safe to say that never before in the history of the world has so much of that intelligence been directed to the solution of the problems which the peoples have in common. One excellent result of a centre like Geneva is the creation of a personnel trained in international co-operation. Officials in various governments go there and become acquainted with their opposites in other countries. Continuous contacts are maintained. Experts in the service of all the fifty and more governments are giving their time through twelve months in the year to matters of common interest to all peoples, and they serve as independently of national bias as it is possible for any of us to be. The Secretariat is an international civil service at the disposal of the various conferences, and its work is of inestimable value in increasing their efficiency. Time and again, reading the reports of pre-War conferences, I have been impressed with the need of such a service: American delegations returning from various conferences, notably the second Peace Conference at The Hague and the fifth Conference of American States at Santiago, have complained of the ineffectiveness of their efforts owing to lack of organisation. The conference method, as we know it in the League of Nations, works because there are trained people at hand to make it work. Of inestimable value also, are the personal contacts between statesman, who in such a place as Geneva can meet for informal discussion without the glare of headlines playing about their heads. In the sixth Assembly of the League of Nations, I counted some twenty cabinet ministers from as many countries, gathered in a single meeting.

Quite as important is the effect of this method on popular opinion. We who are students of international affairs must be specially pleased to have the documentation necessary for keeping abreast with international developments. The League of Nations Treaty Series is a mine of interest for the lawyers, who now for the first time in history have a reliable compendium of the world's treaty law. The reports of commissions and the *proces-verbaux* of conferences, usually so difficult to procure in the past, are now made available in uniform publications. The reports of the delegates of India to the seven sessions of the Assembly of the League of Nations issued as public documents in this country, seem to me excellent guides for public intelligence, and the delegates of other countries could not do better than to take them as models to be followed for informing their publics of what they have attempted to do. The newspaper-reading public has better facilities for following the progress of affairs than it had in the days of conferences organised on the older diplomatic lines. In fact, publicity has had many victories since the League method was inaugurated. In the beginning the minutes of the Council were not made available to the public ; but that continued only for the first eleven sessions. To-day all the minutes are made available as they are prepared. This can be the better appreciated if one compares the recent methods of the Conference of Ambassadors at Paris and those of the Council of the League of Nations. The record of the former is a sealed book, that of the latter is open for those to read who will.

The results of this increase of intelligence applied to international affairs cannot fail to be helpful in the future. Not only do they promise a greater rein for rationalism in its contest with those supposed instincts of man which make him want to fight and to let off steam, but they promise also a mobilization of power directed to the development of the political experiments through which an organized world must pass. In my own field of international law, I feel that we are at the beginning of a new era, and in a later lecture I shall deal with the prospect for an extension of law and justice in the world society of the future, as a consequence of the existence of the League of Nations.

MANLEY O. HUDSON

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY CENTRAL LIBRARY.

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THIS BABEL

Of making many books there is no end and much study is weariness of the flesh ; so said Solomon the wise and never said anything wiser. Yet the world was not then the Babel of books that it is to-day. The amount of reading done by the venerable king would pale into insignificance by the side of the enormous gobbets of information gulped down by an average undergraduate of to-day, and would not fetch him a bare ' pass ' in a modern university. The few rolls that lay at his elbow would be regarded as hopelessly modest fare compared to our monstrous orgy of books. There is no doubt, therefore, what the ancient patriarch would do if he lived to-day. Instead of contenting himself with a wise saw he would stop our mischievous traffic in books by royal decree ; he would free mankind from the tyranny of the pen by putting a ban upon it, and compel authors to take up the spade instead ; he would dismantle all printing presses, ransack and burn libraries and scatter the ashes to the winds. Milk and honey would again flow in our earth and beauty and song return to life.

The wise among us have always put their heads together over the evils—more numerous than the brief seconds allotted to our mortal threescore and ten—of which we are supposed to be the victims. Every day in every way we are becoming worse and worse inasmuch as a fresh evil is being discovered and ushered into our midst. All our studies are now studies of evils. To us facts are no longer facts but have become problems and enigmas. We are sceptics and cynics before we have cut our wisdom-teeth or cut any teeth at all. We inhale doubts at every breath and are for ever ridden by the nightmare of problems. But no saviour has yet arisen to deliver us from one of our principal afflictions—books ! Term in, term out, a huge torrent of books is issuing out of the Gargantuan printing press. It swamps us and sweeps us in its raging tide and leaves us no breath. We have books of every kind and description, of every possible and impossible activity or interest, on every conceivable and inconceivable subject. Even Mirondella would get brain fag in the attempt to enumerate and classify them, much less to read them. We have poetry, drama, fiction, criticism, science, travel, devotion, philosophy, sport, diary, history.........books for entertainment, knowledge and edification; to laugh, weep, dream or yawn over; to read or merely to admire, disparage and talk about; to 'swank' about or decorate our rooms with; books to be tasted, swallowed, chewed and digested; to be read only in parts, and to be read wholly; books on authors and books; on books on books, on books *ad infinitum.* Even a man with Macaulay's brain and the eternal leisure of the Romeos of conventional love-stories can hardly aspire to keep his head above this onrushing stream that engulfs him and tosses him about like a blade of straw. We may plod on wearily till the crack of doom, yet at the end find ourselves precisely where we began. For, even Macaulay confessed to the weariness of flesh when, in reviewing the Rev. Edward Nares' colossal *Lord Burghley, His Life and Time*, he remarked "such a book might, before the deluge, have been considered as light reading by Hilpa and Shalum. But, unhappily, the life of a man is now threescore years and ten, and we cannot but think it somewhat unfair in Dr. Nares to demand from us so large a portion of so short an existence." Our complaint is that there are too many Dr. Nareses abroad, and no attempt is being made to control their slipshod and irresponsible fertility. Even Macaulay, who wrote like this, has inflicted on us much weariness of flesh by his encyclopaedic contributions. Wordsworth, who could, under the not too frequent visitations of his daemon, sometimes write sensible things, never does better than when he calls books 'a dull and endless strife' and advises his friend to 'close the barren leaves lest he should grow double.' Yet the same Wordsworth so often kills his Pegasus by overloading him with stuff that is only fit to be put on the back of a pack-horse.

The tendency towards overproduction is a chronic disease. Every considerable writer has been most inconsiderately prolific. And, as if we did not already have sufficient unto the life the books thereof, critics and biographers must needs speak apologetically or regretfully of authors like Sappho, Gray, Charlotte Bronte or Keats who by virtue of temperament, circumstances or premature death were enabled to escape the bane of overproduction. The only sane and sincere attitude towards such cases should be one of relief and thankfulness. Lope de Vega's plays are said to have run into hundreds. We pity the author as being perpetually hag ridden by a prolific muse who hardly gave him breathing time, and condemn as utterly lost souls readers in whom he does not produce the only possible, legitimate and natural feelings of consternation, disgust and fatigue. Not even a German critic has yet complained against Shakespeare that he wrote too little. It is also admitted by his sturdiest admirers that originality was not among his faults ; that nothing good of his age would have remained anonymous if he could only lay hands on it. Yet every year we find indefatigable Shakespearean enthusiasts patiently grubbing in the obscure corners of Elizabethan literature, and rifling his poor contemporaries of any good play, act, scene or passage that they might have stumbled into, with the sole pious object of foisting it upon their idol. As if the world has not had enough of Shakespeare and Shakespeare had not enough of such spoils ; also, as if we have not had enough of such learned futility. What we already have is cracking our shelves and splitting our skulls. We want no more of the dust of other peoples' writings that Shakespeare probably touched to gold by the alchemy of genius and that the critics invariably retouch to dross in the melting-pot of controversy. The much-maligned cook of Warburton—may her tribe increase and that of her master decay ! In manuscript Mr. Bernard Shaw's plays run into furlongs, we are told, and his prefaces into miles we imagine. As they are slightly less in print, happily Mr. Shaw has a blue pencil in his desk beside his pen. In these hard days when so few of us have a roof and four walls to rest and stretch our limbs within, it is sheer inhumanity to expect us to house so many books, house ourselves as we cannot. At the rate books are multiplying we shall soon have bookshelves jostling out dinner-tables and libraries everywhere instead of dwelling houses. It is a positive menace. We are glutted with books. We regret the introduction of printing and wish for another bonfire like the burning of the library at Alexandria. We feel towards it like what every healthy-minded school boy does when he learns how some books of Euclid were lost. He feels grateful for what the fire did and is sorry for what it left undone. In this deluge of ink we cry for another Noah's ark.

Books are sapping our vitality and forcing us to live barren and unnatural lives. The real use of literature is that it should provoke and satisfy a keener taste for life ; contribute, that is to say, to make life fuller, intenser and stranger. It should add a dimension to our experience, a vista to our outlook, and a fillip to our feelings ; and by feeling more we live more. We make temporary sojourns in the world of print in order to return to the real with greater freshness and zeal. But, now, instead of books being meant for life, life seems to be meant for books. Instead of being the highroads to life they are so many back-lanes to sneak out of it. To so many among us the world of books is more real than the real world. These people incapacitate themselves for first-hand enjoyment of life and prefer a vicarious one through books. They are not alive. They are not human as they are not sensual. The springs of their feeling are frozen, the roots of their being dried up. At best they are all brain and no blood. Nothing is left of them but a cold, merely intellectual, and often cynical curiosity towards life. If that is so with readers, there are likewise some writers who, as Walter Raleigh says, exhaust themselves in the effort to write, and distil all their essence in a book. Their master-pieces have something inhuman in them, like the jewelled idols of barbarous tribes, the work of men's hands, before which human flesh and blood are sacrificed. One wishes for more authors like Dr. Johnson the breadth and humanity of whose temper made him regard books as subordinate to life : "Books without knowledge of life are useless ; for what should books teach but the art of living ?"

It is more serious than we allow ourselves to think, this print-sickness, this constant morbid desire to escape into the realm of cold print to which so many of us are victims. It sits on us like the Old Man of the Mountain on Sindbad, and has us always in its skeleton grip. The mischief begins with the early morning when we cannot enjoy our cup of coffee without having to swallow the professional hypocrisies and propagandist lies which newspapers only can utter with impunity in their own brazen manner ; and since we pay for them we feel we would not have our money's worth if we did not smack our lips over them. In a train or in a'bus instead of enjoying healthy genial human fellowship, or, what is more agreeable, composing ourselves into a short nap that we are rocked into, we invariably bury ourselves under a magazine, paper or novel. To such absurdities are we reduced that with so many of us the best way of closing our eyes in sleep is to keep them open over a book. Wonderful indeed were the Scudérys and La Calprenèdes of the 17th century who could spin out their interminable tomes of heroic adventure and sentiment, and more so the generation of valiant ladies like Mrs. Pepys and Dorothy Osborne who could go through them. In fact, our habit of reading is like the drug-habit ; only, it lasts longer. The Earl of Rochester who bragged of having been drunk continually for five years cannot clink glasses with the maniacal bibliophile burrowing into ancient lore till his last breath. The chief danger of the habit is that it is so insidious. The dupes through whom it works its mischief are so splendid—the great *pundits* among us commanding respect and admiration. We are proud of it and cultivate it sedulously. It is one of our seven deadly virtues. The grown-up among us are inoculated thoroughly with it, and, not to spare the child we spoil the rod on many a back at school. The test of our liberal culture now a days is how many books we have got through, and not, as it should be, how many books have got through us. The literary swells and high-brows are always asking us in their usual nonchalant air whether we know this play or that novel. To say no is to meet the uplifted eyebrow and to prove oneself a back number.

The danger becomes more dangerous when we consider that most of the reading done by us is sheer frittering away of energy. It is so because more than half the books we read we do not really enjoy. We read them not because we like them but for other reasons, the chief of which is that we regard reading as a duty religiously to be performed. This motive specially colours our approach towards the great writers, the acknowledged classics. It springs out of the traditional reverence which the cunning few versed in the craft of letters have always received from their unlettered brethren in all countries and ages. The author has always been placed on a high pedestal ; he has been the oracle of God, his art a miracle which it would be sacrilege to try to understand. We are never pleased as when somebody bullies us, and we invent a god to do it when there is no body else. We are over-awed in the presence of a great writer and we worship him as a god, and not love and understand him as a friend. The incense burnt at his feet by generations of critics and readers is the mist that makes him all the more mysterious, less human and more divine. The moral sense is always better and sooner developed in us than the aesthetic. We want always to be good and are seldom happy. The author may bore us and even cut against the grain with us, yet we piously flog ourselves into an appreciation of his greatness. To feel dislike we dare not as it would be wickedness, much less to speak it out which would be blasphemy. On the other hand, the more of a penance he is, the more good he is supposed to do. Discipline which should be the moderation of pleasure has, by a curious perversity, come to mean the infliction of pain. We regard as serious or wholesome works that cause us suffering, and look with suspicion and contempt on those which frankly delight or amuse.

There is, besides, another spirit, that of snobbishness, that leads us to the study of the ancients. Few of us have the necessary imaginative sympathy and buoyancy of mind to be able to recreate the past and move easily in it. To most of us an ancient author is more dead than Tutankhamen, the ancient world more remote than Tierra del Fuego ; its fitness to us no better than that of Procrustes' bed to his victims. Yet what pride do we take in our classical education. We humbug ourselves into the belief that with it we should be superior to the vulgar who lack it. We read the ancients not out of any real love for them, but with the object of scoring off others. Everybody who reads the classics may not be a snob, but every snob reads them. This spirit exists most in the academies, the hives of so much barren industry. No author receives homage from them in flesh and blood, not until he has served his term in Hades for a few centuries and hardened into some *ism* as the illustration of some abstract notion, school, tendency or influence. They dig up from the graves obscure nonentities of past ages whom time has rightly consigned to oblivion, and turn out elaborate investigations on them. Our shelves are chock-full of them, as well as of the colossal editions of the better-known writers, compact of industry and ingenuity, including innumerable variorum readings and minute textual criticisms involving heated arguments over dots and dashes, and life-and-death struggles over commas and semi-colons. Like the Indian village-lawyer, completely innocent of English or English law, who, when asked why he was carrying big volumes of English law-books, replied 'to afraid the judge,' superior scholars in academies are producing their works *to* *afraid* each other and the public. 'But what good came of it at last ?' little Peterkin might ask of them.

Nobody should suspect us of talking light-heartedly of bad books ; of nagging, as is the custom with self-conscious Litterateurs with a capital L, at the Messrs. Nincompoop and Misses Gabble-Goose among us. Their works are frank pot-boilers with no suspicion of immortality ; the necessary superfluous outgrowths of a country ultimately dying of their own accord. They are harmless because they are bad. We need not be afraid of them because they are ephemeral. The really dangerous ones are the good books ; those that knock at our doors for permanent lodgings. The trouble is they are both so good and numerous. They are, no doubt, gems, as some would say, the precious life blood of a master-spirit crystallised into rubies. But what should we do if we had rubies as common as pebbles, everywhere and always dazzling us with the same hard brilliance ? We should grow sick of them and shove them out of the way. Matthew Arnold's cry for the best that has been thought or known was only an ingenious contrivance for self-preservation against their oppression. Yet Arnold was more than an intellectual Atlas compared to us, bearing as he did the double burden of the ancient and modern worlds on his broad back. Also, his select-the-best theory ultimately brings no relief, for there are endless varieties of 'best' in the ample fields of knowledge or thought. Arnold did not sufficiently realise this and was obsessed with only a few ; hence his narrowness and critical blind-spots. In poetry alone we have, to mention only a few, high seriousness and grand style best (the favourities of Arnold), natural magic best, narrative, music, sensuousness best. All of them are laws unto themselves and any canon drawn exclusively from one is fatal to the others. Should we dismiss a haunting line of Yeats because it has not the grand style or high seriousness of Milton ? None but the literary dyspeptic would feed solely upon the romantic poetry of Keats and Coleridge, and fail to enjoy the satires of Pope and Dryden ; none but the mean would turn down gentle Lamb and dear old Pepys, the ever-delightful chatterers into immortality, because they offer no 'criticism of life.' Our minds should be like the lyre responding sympathetically to every touch. To exclude any of the great is to deprive ourselves of some of the highest artistic experiences, to deny ourselves some of the intensest moments of life. But have we sufficiently realised what this means ? And who does not blanch at the prospect of the enormous reading that it involves ? One must begin with the classics of one's own country ; and even the most audacious would shake in his shoes at the sight of the serried Oxford poets from Chaucer to Bridges. To turn away is to be haunted for ever like Hugo's Cain by the eye of remorse. Then, there are the classical literatures of ancient Greece and Rome, and of India and Palestine too, and the masterpieces of modern languages rising like peak above peak on the Himalayan ranges. By this time our pulse beats irregularly, and when we consider that liberal culture also wants us to know the best in other arts and sciences, it has stopped.

In modern times our improved methods of publicity and transport have shortened the distance between countries and continents. We are the citizens of a huge commonwealth of ideas. The English language is a medium which transmits the heart-beats of every country. Its far-flung empire extends from pole to pole. Through translations we have passports to the universe of ancients and moderns, and the responsibility of the person who would utter a word in English is now greater than ever. Who would listen to the dramatic critic of to-day if he did not supplement his Shaw, Synge, Barrie and Galsworthy with Benavente, Chekov, Sudermann and D'Annuzio, to take only a few out of a multitude. And what a wrestle it is when we read a foreign writer, the initial disappointment and displeasure, the bars of taste, custom and idea. But to be without them is like being without a limb.

And how numerous they are. They ride on the wings of the wind and come from all quarters of the globe. Anatole France inviting us to his garden of Epicurus; Maeterlink to his shadowy fountain of symbolism ; Knut Hamsun from the north, and Tagore from the east with mysterious fingers for ever writing on the wall ; Yone Noguchi from the far east stalking like a ghost; Bjornson, Hergiesheimer, Dostoieffsky, Gogol, Schnitzler, Hauptmann, Sienkiewicz......... the very names so awful, so forbidding, so remote, strange and alluring—all magic casements opening on *perilous* seas. Run away wherever we can from them, the cry is ' still they come.'

J. C. Ghosh

WHERE LIGHTS SHINE

The starlight feeds the earth with longings for the far
That lies beyond the ken, where dreams and visions are,
And teaches man to strive to look beyond the light
To where no night is named and light itself is night.

The sunlight feeds the heart with memories of the star,
And inlays work with dreams, confounding near with far,
And fills the world with light and shrouds the soul in night,
And blinds the eye of heaven with days of smirching light.

And lovelight fills the eye with visions of the hour,
When earth fades away from sight and heaven resigns its power,
And shielded from all fear, a haven of balmy rest
Makes day a fragrant candle, night a loving breast.

Nalinimohan Chatterji

HUMOUR IN SIKHISM

Humour is commonly taken to mean the sense of ridicule or mockery. But on observing the finer developments of human character, it would appear to have also a deeper significance. It is really an extreme sensitiveness to the true proportion of things, a sense that at once discovers for us whatever is out of joint in any thought or action. It is not merely a makeshift quality for leisure hours, but has a substantial value in our moral development. It bespeaks a full and strong sense of personal identity and is not incompatible with religion. Nay, explain it how we will, true humour always goes with ripeness of wisdom, and long-faced seriousness, as much as frivolity, is a sign of immaturity. Without the sense of humour virtue itself becomes self-forgetful and loses its balance. It is humour alone that can keep our sympathies well-regulated and in good turn. It is a fine collective force in our character, and works like an instinct against all excess. Without it, a man's character is always underdone or done on one side only.

It was with this sense of humour that one quiet morning, at Hardwar, Guru Nanak had begun to throw water towards his fields in Kartarpur. His purpose was to disillusion the Hindus who believed that the water thrown to the east would reach their dead ancestors in the world beyond. It was the same humour he displayed at Mecca, when he lay down at night with his feet purposely turned towards Kaaba and said to the priests who protested that they could turn his feet to any direction where God was not. He often announced his coming in a very strange manner. While coming back to India from Mecca, he halted at Baghdad. It was yet early dawn, and the people had not yet begun stirring for the morning prayers. Guru Nanak wanted to have a congregation of his own. He took himself to a high place, and in a loud sentorian voice began to imitate the famous Mohammedan call to prayer.

Hearing this new kind of Azan, the people flocked around him and listened to his preaching with more than usual eagerness. On another occasion, during his wanderings, he came upon a knot of happy children playing in the street. The sight was too alluring for him. He at once put off his gravity and began to leap and bound and shout just as the little urchins did. It must have been a sight for angels to see the grey-haired prophet jumping and singing in the company of children! And then look at the quaint dress he wore on occasions: a leather apron round his waist, a string of bones round his neck, a *tilak* on his forehead or a prayer carpet under his arm.

Guru Arjan, who compiled the Holy Granth, knew the value of humour and when incorporating the compositions of different *Bhagats* he did not discard the passages which were humorous or lively. One of the most effective and sincere addresses to God is the prayer of Dhanna the Jat, wherein he asks for his simple daily bread in this way:

> "O God, I, Thine afflicted servant, come to Thee. Thou arrangest the affairs of those who perform thy service. I beg of thee to give me flour, ghee, and pulse, so that my heart may rejoice for ever. I want shoes and fine clothes, and corn grown on a field ploughed seven times over, I want a milch cow and a buffalo, and a good Turkustani mare, and a good wife. These things thy servant Dhanna begs of Thee"—*Dhanasri.*

There is also a similar passage in Kabir, wherein he throws up the beads to God saying that he can offer no prayers as long as he keeps him hungry. He lays down a regular bill of fare, which he declares to be "none too covetous." (*Sorath.*)

As Sikhism is particular in discarding asceticism and encouraging secular life lived religiously, it has provided a free scope for developing a bright and vigorous spirit among the Sikhs. Bhai Bidhi Chand, who was the right-hand man of Guru Hargobind, was one of the most adventurous youths of the time, noted as much for his humour as for his devotion, His "larking" campaigns were so humorously conceived and romantically executed that for him even the prosaic Mr. Macauliffe is constrained to pause for diversion.

But the most striking example of Humour playing a prominent part in Sikhism is the fact that there exists a regular order of Humourists called *Suthras*, who have carried on religious propaganda in the name of Guru Nanak mainly through Humour.

Guru Govind Singh also realized the value of humour and made full use of it in his religious work. Once he dressed up a donkey like a lion and set it roaming about the fields. The Sikhs began to laugh when they heard it braying, in spite of the lion's coat, and asked their leader what it meant. The Guru told them that they too would look as foolish as the donkey, if, with the Singh's (lion's) name and uniform, they still remained as ignorant and cowardly as before. The same love of the dramatic is exhibited by the way he exposed the futility of the belief in Durga, the goddess of power. When all the *ghee* and incense had been burnt and Pandit Kesho had tired himself out by mumbling *mantras* by the million without being able to produce the goddess, the Guru came forward with a naked sword and flashing it before the assembly declared: "This is the Goddess of power." The same grim humour was shown by him, when one spring morning, in the midst of hymns and recitations, he appeared before his Sikhs and demanded a man who would sacrifice himself then and there for his faith. He wanted to see whether the people dared to do anything beyond mere singing of hymns and reading of texts.

As was the Guru, so became the Sikhs. In the face of desperate circumstances, they often put on a fine brag—that Hannibal or Sir Walter Raleigh might have envied—and literally shouted over a difficulty. Once a small straggling detachment of Sikhs was hemmed in by a numerous force of the enemy. Then friends were far off, and there was no hope of their coming in time to save them. Yet they did not lose heart, They took off their broad white *chaddars* (sheets) and spread them over the neighbouring bushes to make them look like tents from the distance. All the while they kept up shouting every fifteen minutes the famous national cry of *Sat Sri Akal.* The enemy thought that the Sikhs were receiving so many instalments of help and did not dare to come forward.

As a result of this brave spirit, there grew up among the Sikhs a peculiar slang, which was called the Vocabulary of Heroes. In it the things connected with the difficulties of life were expressed in terms of such cheerfulness and bravado, as if, for the Sikhs pain and suffering had lost all meaning. Death was familiarly called an expedition of the Khalsa into the next world. A man with an empty stomach would call himself mad with prosperity. Grams were almonds, and onions were silver pieces, while rupees were nothing but empty crusts. A blind man was called a wide-awake hero, and a half blind man an argus-eyed lion. A deaf man was said to be a man in the upper storey. A baptised Sikh was calld a brother of the Golden Cup, which by the way, was only an iron vessel. To be fined by the community for some fault was called getting one's salary. The big stick was called a lawyer or the store of wisdom; and to speak was to roar.

There is a superb humour in all this, which breathes a full and healthy spirit. It shows that our ancestors knew, how much better than we do at present, that religion is not incompatible with brightness and vigour.

TEJA SINGH

CHRISTIAN CIVILIZATION

An article written by T. L. Vaswani in an Indian newspaper on the subject of "Christian Civilisation" recently found its way to New York. The article was a statement of the findings of Bishop Fisher of Calcutta regarding the status of the Indian in South Africa, with pertinent remarks on the subject by T. L. Vaswani.

One pauses to question whether the prejudice against the Indian in South Africa is a race prejudice or not; whether it is religious antipathy, or whether it might be called Christian prejudice because it exists on the part of the whites and the whites are Christians.

The Christian religion has, of course, one fundamental doctrine, and one only, the brotherhood of man. It has for the guidance of Christians but a single rule of conduct: *Do unto others as you would have others do unto you.* This rule of its ethics is known as the *golden rule.*

Tolstoy asked the question *What is to be done* about poverty. A similar question is confronting the world to-day with regard to the superiority (assumed or real) of the white man over the black. It is without doubt the violation of the sociological ideal, *i.e.*, the brotherhood of man, and the concept of human behaviour, the golden rule, on the part of Christians professing adherence to the faith against Indians who have done nothing to injure them that has caused the ironic ire of Bishop Fisher and Dr. Vaswani to belch forth—justifiably.

One must seek the root of the evil, as Tolstoy did with reference to poverty. Does this root have its incipience in a theory of evolution that existed before the time of Darwin much more commonly than is popularly believed? Does it have its birth in the feeling that the stages of man's progress are from the savage to the civilised man, and in the fact that because the savage happens usually to be "black" the false deduction has arisen that all blacks (that is to say, non-whites) are savages, a belief based presumably upon an absence of universally disseminated facts to prove the contrary ?

Mr. I. B. Sen, of Calcutta, had his difficulties when in America. He found that a great deal of prejudice against the native of India existed in even that "land of the free." He ran into still more trouble when he went on a journey to Washington, the seat of government, on behalf of Indians in America to make a plea before a body of adamant governors to establish the fact that Indians are Aryans and therefore white. It was a futile effort, in connection with a law passed in the United States before, or about the time the Colonies of Great Britain in America threw off the yoke of the mother country (1776) and declared themselves to be the United States. That law granted the boon of citizenship to whites, but not to blacks, and it is a law which has not been repealed. Just before Mr. Sen's visit to the United States, the Supreme Court of the United States, from whose mandate there is no appeal save through an Act of Congress repealing the law in question, held that the prohibitive clause referred specifically to black skins, not savages, not the uncivilized, not the truly non-white in the Aryan distinction. It meant exactly what it said.

So long as such a state of mind persists in any country, that darkness of colour indicates non-intelligence, non-culture, even the inability to attain culture even through a process of civilisation, so long as it indicates non-desirability of subjects for citizenship, a great deal of educative procedure must be undertaken. Mr.Sen pointed out at one time in an article published in Calcutta that the Japanese had won their position in the sun of the world's respect and recognition as a world power, through individualistic and nationalistic pride that would not accept an insult. That has been one way of achieving the desired end of national recognition, but it has not increased the respect of the whites in California for the Japanese labourers.

There is one means—when resort to national strength is impractical—of counteracting and removing, eventually, the ban of colour between India and the nations of the white people, at least in countries non-British where the political question is not a factor if it cannot be achieved in South Africa, and that is through propaganda, a well organized, widespread distribution of the truth. Countries like the United States have a national Chamber of Commerce. This is organized very much on the order of the city Chamber of Commerce that one finds in every city in the country, and in almost every town. It is ready at any moment to give forth information concerning the United States. A national body of publicity, or a national Chamber of Commerce in India, might do more.

Not long ago a minister of the Christian faith preaching in New York said :

> "Imperial Russia justified the holding of serfs because the people were ignorant and docile. But their just cause was gradually placed on the conscience of mankind and they were liberated. In our own country (U. S. A.) the writers of some of our best hymns preached the righteousness of holding slaves and fortified their argument from the Scriptures, but the just cause of black men was gradually placed upon the conscience of mankind. Andrew Jackson saw the struggle coming in 1930. He said to a group of his associates concerning some of their struggles with John C. Calhoun, 'Gentlemen, to-day the issue is states' rights, the next time it will be slavery.' Truth crushed to earth will rise again because it is congruous with the underlying moral order of human existence under a divine and an ethical God."

If the question of India's injustice might be put upon the public mind, what might not happen?

It would amaze more Indians than one might imagine at first if they knew the little that is really known of India in the western world. Let us take the United States for example. Outside New York, and perhaps San Francisco, the two seaport gateways to the Orient, Orientals are almost unknown. Chinese and Japanese are present, of course, in California, the Chinese are active in many communities throughout the country such as Minneapolis and Chicago, in the universities there are a few hundred, perhaps thousands, Chinese, Japanese and Indians —but that is all. There are a few societies endeavouring to struggle along for the good of a so-called "union between the East and the West." Theirs is an admirable work, but it is extraordinarily difficult in the face of financial pressure. It was surprising, when the writer was actively connected with the *Orient*, now *The New Orient*, to find many advertisers, even in America supposedly non-political as far as the British Indian situation is concerned, refusing to advertise because the journal might be anti-British propaganda on behalf of India. That a journal might exist to feature culture and not politics was unbelievable, and that India had anything but a political aspect still more unbelievable.

If Indians, and other oppressed peoples, resenting the "superiority attitude" of the whites, would face the situation which the writer believes to be due almost wholly to the absence of correct information in the western popular mind, a step forward might be taken definitely. If white humanity to-day recognizes intellect and demonstrated personal culture as the standard of its social recognition of non-whites (speaking with regard to colour, not race distinction) and the non-whites wish to receive such recognition, there is but one action possible, and that is to prove not only that they are of intellectual equality but also of intellectual superiority. This India might do.

It would be the greatest possible stride in such a direction, for instance, if Mahatma Gandhi were to tour the western world. The effect of such a tour would be, at the present stage, incomprehensible. Tagore and Vivekananda, one a poet, the other a cultist, are almost the only two Indians who have made an impression upon all America. They were unknown to vast majorities of Americans before their arrival, but they were able, nevertheless, to function for the good of India. Mahatma Gandhi, on the other hand, is known to Americans—as they were not known. He has received a great amount of publicity, and his presence in the flesh would have an effect that would be not less than miraculous. He might have, also, a message that the western world would need.

India, send your leaders to America! Wend them to France, Italy, Germany! Send them not only as students, but as teachers! Let your literature go fourth into the western world. Let your support be ever increasing in strength for the individuals who are engaged in the work of spreading a knowledge of India through the western world. An India, increasing in economic strength, and giving full and wholehearted support to every institute, every society, every journal, each effort, no matter how insignificant, leading toward world-education with regard to matters Indian, will do much to do away with "Christian civilization and superiority."

VIOLA IRENE COOPER

THE FUTURE OF GEOGRAPHY IN INDIA

I

There already exists a number of excellent studies on India. Remarkable works have been produced on geology, climatology, botany, and languages. The decennial censuses of India are carried out on admirable lines and are better than any in Europe. On the other hand, India has on the whole, no real geographical studies, for no attempt has been made to co-ordinate the various sciences relating to geography.

What then is geography? About fifty years back, it confined itself to mere descriptions of the world, made for utilitarian purposes, such as we find in Gazetteers. It indicated, about any area or any particular place, what should be known by a trader, a soldier or a tourist. But to-day geography has become a true science, since, like other sciences, it seeks not only to describe but to explain phenomena. It endeavours first of all to analyse a given region and bring out the features peculiar to it. But next it sets out to disclose the factors that have made the region what it is,—the geological forces, the action of weather or of running water which model the relief of land, of climate that determines now forest and now savannahs, and of man here destroying nature and there bettering it. Further it demonstrates how physical environment acts on the organic world, especially mankind, and *vice versa*.

During its enquiry, geography has unceasingly recourse to the allied sciences that deal with nature or with man. It utilises these in order to co-ordinate them, for it is essentially a synthetic science. And it reaches new conclusions because it has a method of its own.

Here are some of the main principles which determine its method. (1) The principle of Localisation. To find out the exact place and proper limits of every observed fact. (2) That of Causation, understood in a special sense. The geographer admits that even the works of man, such as the position of cities, the direction of routes and the extension of empires, are determined in part by natural environment. (3) General Co-ordination, which maintains that the world is a whole whose parts are closely knit together. Whatever fraction of the globe one studies one cannot separate it from the rest, for its features depend on influences which are numerous and often distant. One cannot study, say the climate of the Punjab, without considering the winds blowing over the whole Indian Ocean: neither can one know about the population of Bengal without viewing its relations with the neighbouring provinces and even with the Iranian world. (4) Evolution: This principle, so fruitful in biology, applies also (*a*) to mountains and rivers for their aspects vary with their age; and (*b*) to human activities, whose present forms can only be understood by knowing those of the past. (5) The fifth principle is that of Adaptation. Every organism depends largely for its form and extension on its physical environment. No doubt the applications of these guiding principles are still a matter of discussion among specialists, for, after all, the science of geography is still young; still they agree upon the essential points of this method.

The field is so vast that there has already arisen some "division of labour." Certain scientists devote themselves wholly to physical geography. They try to explain the modelling and relief of the earth, the direction of water courses and their regime, the facts of climate and of vegetation. On the other hand there are others who devote themselves to human geography. These while making use of the results of the first set out to discover the influence of nature upon man and of man upon nature. The former make use of geology, meteorology and botany, while the latter utilise applied economics, ethnography and history. The constant aim of both these branches, however, is to place, to localise every fact in order to explain it, to view the country as a whole and at the same time to disengage the features which are specially its own. And both need for their work the same synthetic spirit.

Let me take as an example the recent work of Dr. Arthur Geddes, son of the eminent thinker so well-known in India.[1] It is a study of the *Santiniketan* region and of Western Bengal. The author begins his study by a description of the country, at once precise and picturesque, showing the differences of aspect upon the Old Alluvial and the New. He seeks to explain this diversity; he defines the several environments, and characterises the theatre where the drama of human activity is to be played. He indicates how environment transforms itself during the course of ages, for example the effects of deforestation and erosion in the uplands in silting up the "dead rivers" of the delta. Next he studies agriculture and industry, subjects also included in economics, but here, viewed from another point of view—that of constantly defining the influence of environment on organism, of place on work. Also, he shows how the changes in the courses of rivers lead to the decadence of certain regions and the development of malaria. Again, he describes the villages and houses, showing the part of physical factors determining the place and form of human habitation. One of the most original chapters of this study defines the regions of culture, tracing their evolution, by means of the same environmental factors, and searches for the most subtle relations between environment and intellectual activity. Dr. Geddes concludes his study by describing the work of rural reconstruction inaugurated by Rabindranath Tagore, after describing the difficulties of the present, he brings forward the remedies by a better adaptation of nature by man. It is by such means that geography which describes and explains certain of the ills of mankind, makes thus their diagnosis and prepares their rational cure.

Another thesis recently presented at the University of Montpellier, by Dr. Gopal Advani,[2] is devoted to a study of rural life in Sind. It shows how geography is a necessary preface to the study of scientific agriculture, how it can state the deed of a people, and of what practical use it is, without in any way ceasing to be a science.

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[1] Thesis for the Doctorate of the University of Montpellier, 1927.

[2] This and the above are published by *Librarie Nouvelle*, Montpellier.

Again, I may be allowed to draw attention to the studies on the population of India by Vidal de la Blache and myself, published in *les Annales de Geographie* of 1906 and 1926. These studies will show how geographers work out the facts presented by statisticians by methods of their own, in explaining, for instance, variations in density of population and in migrations.

Such is the conception of modern geography as elaborated by Humboldt, K. Ritter and Vidal de la Blache. A completer idea may be gained by reference to *Physical Geography* by W. M. Davis, the *Traité de Géographie physique* by Emmanuel de Martonne, *La Geographie humaine* by J. Brunhes,[1] and the admirable *Tableau de la Geographie de la France* by Vidal de la Blache.

Now India has as yet hardly any works which are truly geographic. Too often those so called are really gazetteers in which the various subjects are treated separately without any inter-relation. Here then has resulted a curious fact: A European savant finds it much more difficult to visualise the various aspects of India than those of China. Numerous travellers have traversed the Great Plain of Peking and have described its landscapes and some of them have even noted the relation between soil, cultivation and population. On the other hand, for the Deccan there are a number of studies, some geological, others botanical or demographic, but there is no co-ordination, not even a general description of the country. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that from the geographical point of view, India is almost an unknown country. There are materials everywhere but they are scattered and hardly any attempt has been made to build them together.

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[1] This has been translated into English (New York, Rand Mac Nally, 1920). But some reservation must be made upon the conceptions of Mr. Brunhes, specially in the first few chapters.

It would be a task of immense philosophic interest to construct the geography of India,[1] owing to the diversity of its regions and its peoples and also because of the antiquity of its races and the extraordinary differences in cultural development.

It would also be of the greatest national interest. For if a country is to gain consciousness of nationhood it needs must know itself. For the past, history (with the study of scriptures) is the means, but for the present, human geography.

Geography too can reveal elements of the nation's future for it is the science that finds in natural environment permanent factors of evolution. It prepares the solution for problems that face the statesmen as in studying the material life of a people and its deficiencies and discovering the latent means of making up for these, or in tracing regional units and thus indicating rational boundaries for administration. And finally, geography can help India to be loved by her sons and by strangers too, for one of its aims is to describe the splendours of nature and to show how man is rooted to the soil of his country.

Such are a few of the aspects of geography. We hope enough has been said to bring out the greatness of the task before the Indian Universities. Calcutta has been a poineer in national history and linguistics; why then should it not now become the same for the geography of India?

II

How then to reconstruct this geography of India? This task must fall to Indians themselves, as modern conception of geography is very little known in England save for notable exceptions, far less in France and Germany.

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[1] It may be noted that national consciousness has formed itself in other countries in similar ways. A century ago Germany owed its arousal not only to its poets like Wieland or to philosophers like Fichte, but also to the historians who after 1812 have tried to find out the monuments of the German past in order to awaken interest, too long dormant, of their fellow countrymen in the life of their country. Again after the Great War peoples long oppressed have evolved to nationhood. Jugo-Slavia, Poland, Czeckoslavaque and Roumania are now occupied in geographical as much as historical research so that they may better understand their country and also come to love it more.

Within the next two years I hope to publish an outline of this question in the *Geographie Universelle* edited by Vidal de la Blache and Gallois. Later, if possible, I shall try to develop this into a book of 400 to 500 pages. But that, too, will be a general view rather than a detailed study, and of necessity I shall put more questions than I shall solve. Such work will be a sort of short and superficial reconnaissance of the territory to be explored. It should be followed by a series of monographs such as those of the French School (Demangeon on Picardie, Blanchard on Flanders, Arbos on the Alps, my own on Normandy and others). Such regional surveys or monographs should be the labour of young Indians. How are they to prepare themselves for such a work? I shall always be very glad to help them in this task, and here is what seems to me one of the best opportunities for their scientific preparation.

The Indian student may come to Montpellier in October when the beautiful Mediterranean autumn begins.[1] If he knows no French he may take a course, in our University, arranged specially for foreigners to initiate them into the language and the civilisation of France. On the other hand I will guide him in his reading beginning with methodology and later introduce him to the study of French regional monographs. About May he might go to Strasbourg or Paris, where he would find specialists in Physical Geography. He might spend the summer in the Pyrenees or in the Alps where the Universities of Toulouse and Grenoble have organised vacation courses and systematic excursions. His second year might be passed in Montpellier with, perhaps, a few visits to the libraries of Paris or London. During this year, the student could prepare for two examinations—(1) the Certificate for Higher Study of Geography, in order to have a general idea of our science ; (2) the doctorate of the university, consisting of a thesis on the study of one of the various regions of India to which he wants to devote himself. I believe that at the end of two years, an intelligent student would be ready to begin the scientific exploration of India. Naturally, a third year could be well spent in studying, according to his tastes, geology, or botany or anthropology; in short, in mastering one of the sciences auxiliary to geography. It goes almost without saying that such a programme concerns students already advanced, or young members of university staff ; for beginners this period would be far too short.

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[1] With its warm climate Montpellier would be very agreeable for Indian students (average temperature during the coldest months is 43°F, and that of the hottest is 73°F.) It is because of this that a number of students come from Egypt and the Mauritius. Prof. Patrick Geddes has established here an intellectual centre to bring about a union of East and West (reference may be made to an article that appeared in the *Modern Review*, Calcutta, Nov., 1926). One of the University professors takes a keen interest in Asiatic sociology and another in educational problems of the East, Students will also be put in touch with orientalists in Paris, like MM. Sylvain Levi, Jules Bloch and others. While books are generously lent from the libraries of the India Office and the office of the High Commissioner.

Before coming to France, the student should be able to read French (a list of useful books could be sent him). From the scientific standpoint it would be an advantage if he had already done some geology or botany, but this is not absolutely necessary. The same applies for history and political economy. (Geography having two branches, physical and human, and it would suffice for him to know something about one of these before leaving India.)

What is more important than acquired knowledge is the spirit which makes the true geographer, a care for precision, a horror of vague generalisations, and above all the power of synthesis, the love of his country and his people and the desire to know them better. This assumes a certain maturity, together with the keenness and intellectual flexibility of youth. Let us remember that for a developing science the right start is essential : one good student rather than twenty ordinary ones to begin the exploration of India.

Further might it not be profitable to think of inviting to India an European geographer to begin this work which would be a true collaboration of East and West? For it is often observed that the inhabitants of a country do not of themselves always notice the very features of their land which are most characteristic of it, because they have always seen them, day in day out,—just as one may cease to mark the physiognomy of people with whom one lives in daily contact. It happens that in France a province has generally been best described by some one hailing from a different one. In the same way Europeans would be useful in the beginning by arousing interest of Indians to some essential problems and to show them on the spot the lines on which they may be solved.

Would it be possible for a time to associate some European geographers as professors in Calcutta University? The recent experience of Roumania has been very encouraging. An eminent teacher of the Sorbonne, M. de Martonne, was invited to one of the Roumanian universities, Cluj. He delivered a series of lectures on the method of general treatment of geography of that part of Europe. Later, during summer, he selected a batch of his best students and took them for a number of weeks to the mountains of Transylvania. Though he himself did not know the country, any more than they, he knew the methods by which to analyse these countrysides and regions. And it was of great benefit to the students to see how he worked in the field. It will be of great use to introduce the same in India : the European geographer could give a series of lectures, and later he should conduct long vacation excursions which may help the students to be educated in a concrete and living way. Thus he would not merely produce students to " know about geography " but at the same time he will show them how to make their own geography, teaching them to observe nature and understand it.

JULES SION

THE PLACE OF BERGSON IN MODERN PHILOSOPHY

There has been a tendency in recent philosophy to look for the secret of truth in other sources than reason, and we take Bergson to be a representative of this anti-intellectualistic spirit which has expressed itself in more forms than one all the world over, *viz.*, the American Pragmatism which tests the truth of a doctrine by its Ethic rather than by its Metaphysic, or again the Italian Expressionism in Art and Religion which makes Reality to be Expression itself, not the Expression of an Idea. And of all revolts against the classical method in Philosophy, we take it, that of Bergson has been the boldest. For, while all the others have shown due respect to the time-honoured ideas of Metaphysics, Bergson has revolutionised them altogether. What is history ? History is, according to Bergson, an Infinite energising, not of a great Principle,—a great Power, a great Idea or a Great God,—but the Energising itself which goes on without beginning and end. What is life ? Life is a portion of this Infinite Energising. And what is the meaning of History for Humanity? Humanity has only to participate in this Infinite Energising—and that is its salvation—rather than sit down, reason and classify, without end hoping for some miraculous revelation of truth. The dualisms of life and thought have, therefore, no significance for one who lives, not on any carefully reasoned Metaphysics of the universe, but, directly and straight, on this philosophic Intuition.

Such a philosophy as this, on account of its extreme simplicity, naturally appeals to us moderns, who have long lived down the Medieval Schoolmen's love for syllogising ; and it appeals all the more to the special student of the history of philosophy, owing to the deadlock which has been recently created by the perfected systems of the great dialectician Hegel on the one hand, and of the great empiricist, Spencer, on the other.

For Hegel has claimed for his system, on the ground of his Logic, the final goal and the highest perfection of all philosophical doctrines which have dissolved their oppositions by slow dialectic steps through history. Philosophy, after Hegel, therefore, should cease to be a thing which apparently contradicts his own doctrine of the eternal self-evolution of the Infinite Spirit through history. And Spencer ? Spencer has found the philosopher's goal as ' unknown and unknowable,' after a ceaseless classification and co-ordination of all the Sciences of his age. Intellect thus seems to have failed at this point of history to satisfy the philosophical craving. It is high time, therefore, that we should have a truer philosophy that draws its inspiration from other sources than the Intellect and is in harmony with the idea of progress and optimism which is the keynote of the modern age. And there have been attempts throughout the world,—James in America putting emphasis on ' personal psychology,' Croce in Italy on the ' Aesthetic sense,' Douglas Fawcett in England reducing the whole world to Imagination.'' Nietzsche has already experimented on a philosophy of Power and failed. We have in Bergson a great exponent of the present age, who has given us a beautiful, almost poetic, philosophy of Intuition which is in keeping with the energy and optimism of modern times.

It is interesting, however, to look into the fundamental standpoint of a philosopher before we try to appreciate his conclusions. Bergson always refers to the personal self, Kant to the Pure Reason, Hegel to the Idea in need of Expression. Bergson is a psychologist before he is a Metaphysician; Kant or Hegel a Metaphysician before a psychologist. While Bergson, with all the keenness of a psychologist, cannot make himself see in the world and self anything real but change and movement, Kant finds reality to be the very opposite of it,—the thing-in-itself which we, with our spectacles of time and space, wrongly see in various colours. Kant concludes after his critique of thought that to think is to get entangled in space and time and miss the real once for all; Bergson, on the other hand, finds himself perfectly real as a moving, changing personality in time. Reality, he says, is motion itself, not the motion of a thing; change itself, not the change of a thing; because the most immediate and real fact of experience on which we have to philosophise is 'myself' which is essentially a ceaseless motion and change. The 'me' of to-morrow is no more the 'me' of to-day. Life and consciousness are absolutely indeterminate. Intellect which attempts to grasp motion in terms of geometry only, necessarily cuts up reality, which is continuous life and movement, into dead pieces. It is thus, as a Bergsonian might say, that Reasoning caused Adam's fall from the heaven.

The opposition between this new philosophy and the old, clearly, is one of standpoints, the psychological opposing itself to the metaphysical. Reality, says the modern psychologist, is of the nature of an unrest. To the metaphysician it is a perfect calm. Who is to be trusted? Yes, it is the eternal conflict between the romantic and the classical spirit in human nature. It is for history to decide whether Intuition has to be explained by Intellect or Intellect explained by Intuition,—whether the philosophy of Bergson is a stage in Hegel's Dialectic, or the philosophy of Hegel a moment of Bergson's continuum.

The final answer,—or is it ever final?—to all problems of philosophy, we believe, must come from the Intellect. There comes often a stage in the history of civilization when the human mind gets tired of Intellect, feels loth to reason, finds relief in other forms of its being,—in worship of Power, in variety and boldness of imagination and experiment. It is in such an age as this that we are living to-day. Humanity has lived a similar age in the beginning of the Renaissance, it is re-living that age at present on a more advanced and extended scale. It is only when the creative faculty of the human imagination exhausts itself for a time and the results of its experiments settle down that some intellectual giant appears before us, classifies, co-ordinates and harmonises the results and gives us a neat system of philosophy which explains all. The world seems to progress more by a Brownian than by a Bergsonian motion—more by jerks than by a single, continuous, indivisible movement. But the present age is one, pre-eminently, of Bergson. The meaning of Bergson is plain to us. It is a protest against the false intellectual pride of the nineteenth century philosophers. It is in tune with the present age of daring. We care more for a clear ethic than for a correct Metaphysic. Let the fastidious metaphysicians of old ever quarrel and bother about points of Logic, while we Bergsonians of to-day live, energise and produce an infinite variety of Science and optimism.

P. C. Kar

STRAY THOUGHTS

A Beggar Boy.

A little boy—scarcely four, a sad slender figure—behind him his mother—a pitiable creature, in rags—with a feeble cry of want on her lips. A spectacle so touching! They come to me for alms. While they stand expecting the usual penny I look at them. My heart melts with sympathy for the stripling—his tiny face with two little innocent eyes makes a profound impression on me. Has he not a faint resemblance in appearance with my son? I like to take him up in my lap, place him close to my bosom, feel his rapid heart-beats and impart a little warmth to his unprotected limbs from my own flowing heart-blood. He speaks not a word, sees me plunge my fingers into my pocket and bring out a penny for him. I wish I could take his tender fingers, place them within my pocket and feel the tingling confusion. I place the penny in his little palm—just big enough to hold the coin—and enjoy the pleasure of his touch for a moment.

He is gone, perhaps satisfied with a penny—but I am not. He makes me uneasy. How glad would I be to see his boyish restlessness, to listen to the music of his voice and to enjoy the playfulness of his limbs! He stands before me with the curse of poverty on his head. His innocence and purity—wrapped in ugly poverty. How helpless he looks! The morning of his life how sad and gloomy when he should be happy as a lark. He moves about with a captive's chain when he should be the freest of the free. He has yet a morning and a noon while my days are about to close. And he comes to beg of me—how strange! What can I give him?—a coin, a mere nothing. I wish I could beg of him a little of his natural simplicity and artless innocence to feel the glow of childhood once again. In my presence he gives the coin to his mother. He forgets all about the coin the very next moment and sees with wondering eyes the passing carriage.

In the evening when I wend my way home I find the mother and the child seated by the road-side exhausted—the child's head drooping with the heaviness of sleep. Would he pass the night without a morsel of food? Where would he sleep—in his mother's lap? Would he suck the milkless breast of his afflicted mother? Does any hut protect their heads from the cold night? All these thoughts make me restless. In my bed I lie as one prostrate with helplessness.

My Child.

I have a child of my own—an only child—whom I hug to my bosom at all hours of the day. When I take him up how completely he surrenders himself to me! He cannot distinguish his mother from the rest of the world as yet. His helpless state brings a world of thoughts in me. If I place him on the railings of my staircase or on the edge of the reservoir, he does not realise the danger. He is so careless of his own safety. Give him the most priceless jewel, he will throw it away if he is not pleased with it. He is naked—stark naked—but his innocence covers his nudity. In the presence of the most august personage he will play with his little limbs absorbed in his own delight.

A burning candle attracts him and he extends his tiny fingers to catch it. His little blue eyes are so transparent that they reflect the light of heaven unbedimmed. The unmatted floor is as much to his liking as the soft velvety bed. He is an emperor in miniature. He controls every one about him. He does not hold me physically, but he has an iron control over me. I forget my work. I forget that time won't stop for me. I am helpless. How is it that a helpless little babe makes me helpless? When I come back from my work, I find him as much unconcerned for me as if he never saw me. His little face floats on my vision and gives me an inward delight during the leisure moments at my office. No one can divine the source of my delight. The reflection of his face in my mind's eye enlivens me and opens a vista not known to my vision before.

People go to the church to enjoy the bliss of heaven on earth. But the very air you breathe is holy to me. When I am in your presence I find myself in a different world—a world so simple, so beautiful, so natural. You seem to me to be the representative of the All-holy and the kingdom of heaven lies about you. When I kiss you, the odour, as if of ambrosia, regales my senses.

When I find you lying in your mother's lap, sucking her breast, my senses become overpowered. It is a vision beatific. A divine glow, an angelic purity then dawns upon your mother's face. She seems to me an angel come down from the empyrean heights to give you the divine drink of nectar. She fondles you in a language which I never understand. I stand at a distance, not daring to approach you while you are lying in the sanctuary of your mother's bosom. Could any sight be holier than this—a child sucking its mother's breast? Could any love be purer than this—a mother's embrace to her child? Could any sacrifice be greater than this—a mother's suffering for her child?

A Faded Flower.

A faded flower—how changed beyond recognition! Where is thy arresting beauty, thy charms, thy soft petals smiling with fragrance, thy soul-thrilling form? No admiring eyes will pause and watch thee! No hand will be stretched to hold thee now! No bees will come to greet thee and no butterfly will stop to wipe away drops of sweet from thy lovely face. You have lost all except the innate sweetness of your nature.

You are supremely meek even in your adversity. This is what attracts me most and I place thee again on my bosom.

I can see marks of violence on thy person. For thee I weep bitter tears in extreme anguish. How hard that heart must be! Whoever he is, wherever found, he is accursed.

Poor flower! on my lap thou diest. Thy petals droop away one by one. How silently you pass away. The lingering warmth of your perfume is no more. Even a fairy creature like you is not spared the icy touch of death. Beauty was thy garment, and fragrance thy breath—but where are they now?

Sweet flower! Your death makes me gloomy. Is this world an empty dream, a huge Nothing where I am not, an unfathomable void? Is it a meaningless form, created without purpose?

The Rain-Drop.

I owe the rain-drops a heavy debt. Apart from the thrill of pleasure which a cool draft of air gives while whispering in my ear of their approach, I am deeply grateful to them. They suspend for the time the feverish activity born of my dissipated taste. When I am arrested by them, in the midst of a field, no shelter near-by, I feel very delighted. I surrender myself to their soft embrace. Why shall I shun them? They come for me, to give me freshness, delight and exhilaration; I voluntarily submit myself to be drenched. My mind gets relaxed and I hear their peculiar music with a rapturous soul. Streets are flooded. Little streams of water come running from all directions and transform the aerial into an earthly music.

In moments of deep silence we sometimes awake to the beauty of nature. She is calm, sober but temptingly beautiful to an observant eye. Her sports with the elements fascinate my mind. I am as much moved by a blue sky on a clear day, the reflexion falling on a clear sheet of transparent water, as by a cloudy sky vocal with the low murmurs of a grumbling thunder. The over-powering flashes of lightning followed by loud reports of thunder are terror-striking indeed but they give to my mortal eyes a glimpse of the blinding brilliance of the empyrean when its gates are flung open.

When wind and rain come together there is a wild merriment all through nature, and they send a riotous mirth through me. Little children begin to dance in unison with the music,—appreciating the wild harmony in nature. The dull conventionalities of life appear meaningless to me and my heart realises a broader life—natural, true and universal.

The Dawn.

In my boyhood I could not understand how the gloom of night vanished with the approach of dawn. I attributed this to some magic in nature.

I cannot forget the indescribable charms of dawn. The moment the chorus of birds regales my ears I leave my bed and come out to welcome the infant dawn. Like a little child its steps are faltering, its presence is sweet, its face is smiling and its look is innocent and fresh. There is a divine halo in its presence. It dances with the little twigs that move with the breeze. The dark impurities of my mind are scattered away and I can see to the very bottom of my soul which vibrates in unison with the soul of outer nature. I feel a new strength in every nerve. I look at the serene vault of the blue sky and gaze with wonder at its spotless beauty. The sun is not yet up. It is still hidden in the womb of the infinite deep. The strife of life is not yet begun. The world is still asleep. Only the birds are awake. I hear the flutter of their wings. I cannot imagine why they rise with the dawn.

Rash Ranjan Basu

GLIMPSES INTO POPULAR RELIGION AND BELIEFS IN ANCIENT INDIA

A careful analysis of the evidence furnished by the ancient literature of India enables us not only to have a clear idea of the popular religion of those early days but an insight into the mentality of the people. They were essentially a more primitive people than their descendants of the present day, and though the progress of science or the change of environment has materially altered the ideas of their descendants, yet many of these which influenced them still subsist in the latter. To enquire into the beliefs and ideas of the past, we must begin with the literature of the Vedas which affords us ample materials for enquiry on diverse lines. Not to speak of the gradual evolution of metaphysical ideas, the progress of society, or of the sciences, we find in this ancient literature ample evidences which unfold to us the minds of the people who composed it, their conception of the universe, its regulative forces, the chief sources of detriment to man, and the ways of attaining safety from the evil influences which assail mankind. With the evidences which dwell on the former topics, we are not at all concerned, but we confine ourselves to those which enable us to have a glimpse into the mentality of the mass of the people and their real religion.

The Vedic people, like their brethren in antiquity in other parts of the globe, believed in the existence of ever-present agencies which controlled the universal system and its diverse phenomena. These agents may be classified into two categories: *e.g.*, (*a*) the beneficent elements, and (*b*) the malevolent agents. The former comprised the Devas, the rulers of the cosmical system as well as the beneficent spirits of ancestors who were supposed to look to the welfare of their descendants. The conception of the Devas need not be discussed here in detail, but clearly they were the personfications of the presiding elements of the different aspects or the various phenomena of nature. To mankind, their influence was overweening and they fully controlled their destinies. On the whole, they were favourable to man, though they were not unmindful to punish those who transgressed their laws and commands. The God Varuṇa had his spies and their nooses with which to torment sinners. Certain diseases also were supposed to have been due to his punishment. Similarly, there were the dreaded dogs of Yama, the king of the departed.

The gods were many, and prominent among them were the great single gods like Indra the war god and the god of rain, Varuṇa the Judge *par excellence* of the immortals, Aditi, Bhaga the Lord of creation, Prajāpati, Sūrya or the sun, Soma, Pusan (God of cattle). Then there were the group gods, the Rudras, Maruts, Ādityas and the Vasus, etc. The mutual assimilation of different traditions of diverse sections of the people, different explanations about the same natural phenomena, diversity in the conception of the various aspects of nature, gradually enlarged this huge pantheon, and gradually led to the growth of a tradition about the mutual relations between the diverse gods, their manners, customs, ways of dealings with men, their appearances, figures, weapons, peculiar garbs, favourite food, etc. Everything gradually came to be defined and a mass of myth and legends about their birth, origin, doings, or life history, came into existence, almost on lines parallel to those we find in Greece, Rome or in other parts of the ancient world. Anthropomorphic considerations naturally played the supreme role in the evolution of these ideas together with a certain amount of imposition of higher attributes like immortality, or control over the ordinary laws of the universe which affect and influence mankind. But, with all these higher attributes, the gods were not free from passions or the cravings of mortals. They, too, often transgressed the laws of morality and consequently suffered. They, too, were liable to greed or lust and fought amongst themselves. They, too, engaged in sports and pastimes like the game of chess or chariot race, drank wine to their heart's content and did everything to gratify their senses.

The primitive mind is swayed by wonder and fear and naturally tries to do recompense for the good done or to appease the anger of the omnipotent agents. As such, the gods were worshipped and this worship was nothing but offering various kinds of food or sacrificing animals to them—practically, the same means as wins success with ordinary men. In course of time, this sacrifice elaborated into a complicated ritual and came to have a different purpose and meaning.

If wonder or gratitude impelled man to venerate or worship these deities or the spirits of the departed ancestors, fear made them dread the spirits of evil which infested the world. To counteract these evils they had recourse to various arts and artifices. With progressive ideas, they prayed to the gods for their deliverance from all sorts of trouble, but at the same time, they performed various rites to nullify evil influences. They had recourse to what we call spells, charm or magic, and these coming from more ancient times clearly survived, in spite of progress, in spite of the growing belief in the omnipotence of the gods. The hymns of the Atharva-veda or the ritual of the Brāhmaṇas throw a great flood of light on the beliefs and practices of that remote age. The evil agents remained, as in more primitive times, the chief sources of dread to the people. Prominent among these evil spirits which endangered the safety of man were the Asuras, the spirits of evil and the perpetual enemies of the gods, their objects of veneration, ghosts, Yakṣhas, Kimidins, Yātudhānas, the flesh-eating Piśāchas, the spirits of diseases or of misfortune. These were constantly dreaded and the simpler and unsophisticated mind looked to easier ways of deliverance other than sacrifice and prayer to the gods. The Atharva-vedic hymns are a storehouse of such things which comprise invocations to gods and charms and rites which werebelieved to have been efficacious in removing evil influences. Care was taken to ensure the safety of man all throughout his existence and to dispel evil influences in all acts of his life. Hymns were uttered or rites performed to counteract evil in everyday life as well as on specific occasions. Thus, we have instances of such things on the occasion of the building of a house, to ensure plenty and good-health and for safety, prosperity and freedom from danger. Men had recourse both to prayers and to charms or magical rites just on child-birth to ensure the good-health of the child to drive away barrenness in the woman, to dispel fiends who caused abortion, to have a good rainfall, to destroy impediments to agricultural operations, to ensure a good harvest by counteracting drought, lightning or vermin, to safeguard a commercial adventure, to ensure unanimity among kinsmen, to safeguard loyalty of subjects to the king, to dispel evil influences or the evil eye or diseases from a man, family or any particular people. Conversely, similar means were employed to satisfy the anger or vengeance of man. We have charms for destroying enemies, for counteracting the influence or for impairing the good fortune of a co-wife, and to make enemies suffer in all possible ways. It would be rather tedious to mention all these but on analysis we find a curious commixture of older ideas, methods and practices with those of a subsequent and more enlightened age. On all occasions and for all purposes the gods were invoked and the invocations to them show how their omnipotence was accepted in principle, but at the same time the older element of charms and magical rites continued as before. This is proved by the use of amulets, or the employment of similar means for counteracting the evils without even the mention or assistance of a deity. Some of these mentioned in the Atharva-veda show how persistent was the popular belief in magical rites and charms. Thus, in the case of diseases we have not only prayers to gods but in some cases we find only the employment of charms and magical rites. In one of these, in which the object is to cure dysentery the operator employs an arrow of *muñja* grass and throws it away symbolising the cure. Secondly, to drive constipation, the seer or the performer of the rite discharges an arrow which is supposed to purge the patient of all evil. In the case of jaundice, no gods are invoked at all, but suggestions are repeatedly made to the patient and the yellow colour is transferred to plants and birds. Similarly, in the case of love-charms, we find no invocations to gods but a recourse to what we call magical rites. To unite the lover with the wished-for maiden, two cuttings from a tree and a creeper attached to it are joined together along with some other rites. Similarly, in a hymn for ensuring the birth of children, an arrowis discharged symbolising the passing of the semen into the woman's womb.

Belief in sympathetic relation between natural phenomena and animals and plants, as well as in the inherent powers of certain herbs or plants had a prominent place in this ritual. Plants like the Apāmārga or Kuṣṭha were supposed to have the power of defeating enemies or counteracting poison. Another plant, the Pāṭa, could stop an adversary in debate. Gold was supposed to give life and prosperity. Lead was supposed to counteract evil influence. Similarly, there were other plants which were supposed to excite or dispel love. Among animals, the frog was supposed to have the power of invoking rainfall. This belief is found in more than one place and in operations for bringing in water into newly-dug canals or reservoirs, a frog was invariably placed in them. The inherent auspicious or inauspicious character of birds and animals was recognised and as an instance, we may mention prayers and rites to dispel the evil brought by owls.

Signs and portents were also believed in and as an instance of omen-reading, we have in the A.V. the mention of the Śakadhūma, who was supposed to foretell rainfall by noting the smoke issuing from burning cowdung cakes. There was a persistent belief in witchcraft and its presiding spirit was conceived to have been a female ever malevolent to mankind. Charms were employed against witchcraft and herbs were used as antidote.

In some other works of the Vedic Literature, we have ampler evidences of the magical element. One Brāhmaṇa, the Sāmavidhāna not to speak of the Kauśika Sūtra, gives us details about these rites and practices which were supposed to fulfil the desire of the performer. It mentions auspicious and inauspicious signs, the good or evil influence of planets, the efficacy of amulets in dispelling harm or removing diseases, snakes, and the evil caused by sorcerers, ghosts and other evil agents. We may not go into all these in detail but one magical rite may be mentioned to illustrate the popular mind and the nature of these rites. It is nothing but a magical rite to kill an enemy. To do this, the performer is to make an image of the man of dough and having dried it he was to cut it to pieces and to eat it up (Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa). It is not irrelevant to relate that a similar method of destroying the enemy was known among the Romans and the Teutons.

In the ideas relating to cosmology, the explanation of the doctrines of Karma and of transmigration modified the old ideas. Yet, people continued to believe in the existence of Heaven as the place of rewards for good done in life and of Hell as the abode of punishment. All these ideas persisted in spite of the evolution of philosophical doctrines or metaphysical explanations. Not to speak of the literature of the Brāhmaṇas, we have on these points the evidence of the ancient folk literature preserved by the Buddhists in the form of the Jātaka stories which purport to describe the various previous births of Buddha. These Jātakas give us an insight to the popular mind and enable us to study the popular religion of the day. In them, we find the common people believing in a world infested with Yakṣas living on human flesh, ogres inhabiting the forests, trees or waters. Ghosts too were dreaded, and they were supposed to pass lives of torment for sin committed in human existence. They were supposed not to cast any shadow and were generally inimical to mankind. They were dreaded and men tried to appease them by offerings of food and other things. Caityas were objects of worship with the common people who also made offerings to the spirits residing in trees or forests, rivers or lakes. The spirit of the ancestors were also worshipped. Men believed in signs and portents, feared the consequences of evil dreams or omens and tried to counteract the evil by taking the assistance of men with supernatural powers. Of the superstitions on this head, we may find many such surviving in our own days. In regard to supernatural powers men believed even in the power of seers to enliven a dead man or animal.

The evidence of the Jātakas is confirmed by later works, prominent of which are the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya and many other later works describing social life, or the ritualistic practices which we find in the Tantra. The Arthaśāstra is a work of the 4th century B.C. and though professedly a work on polity, it opens to us a page in the history of the evolution of religious ideas of ancient India.

As time went on, philosophical speculations were devoted towards the explanation of the phenomena of the world, the relation of man to the forces of nature and the root causes of the universal system. But, in spite of these activities, the old beliefs and ideas continued to exist and do exist even now. Even to-day, people believe (as they do elsewhere in the world) in the existence of spirits and ghosts. The planets are even now supposed to mould the life of individuals. Amulets are still supposed to be efficacious and men with supernatural powers are believed in. Many, practically of all the superstitions which are found in ancient works, still survive in some part of India or other and the present-day ritual still shows the influence of older charms or magical practices, which have been assimilated into newer rites and practices.

NARAYANCHANDRA BANERJEE

PUBLIC MOVEMENTS IN BENGAL AS CHANNELS OF WESTERN INFLUENCE

One of the noteworthy features of the nineteenth century in Bengal—by no means the least important—was the variety of movements to which the introduction of the European world had given an impetus, if not birth. In a former issue of this *Review (September, 1926)* we referred to such movements and their share in conveying Western ideas to Bengali life. Here we propose to dwell on the significance of these movements, tracing them, wherever possible, to the Western ideas that prompted them. It will be seen that though all of them may not have been the products of such ideas, they were in some way connected with them—either, they were translated into action as a practical consequence of the promulgation of Western ideas, or they were inaugurated to combat such heretical tendencies.

Christian Missions.

First let us consider the religious movements, and the Christian Missions in that connection. The idea of sending out a mission to India was by no means new. In the Census Report for 1921, Vol. V, Part I, p. 169, we read—"The Portuguese were the first to bring Christianity to Bengal. Portuguese adventurers...... enslaved their captives and converted them to Christianity." But they were Roman Catholics. We still remember Kiernander, the first Protestant missionary who came to Bengal from South India whence he was ousted by the French and who on coming to Calcutta received the patronage of Lord Clive. In 1775 there arrived a second mission from Halle but practically it did very little. In 1789, the year of the French Revolution, the Reverend Abraham Thomas Clarke was sent to Calcutta by the Christian Knowledge Society but he received employment under the Government and was thus lost to the cause. Mr. Thomas had come to India before this. In 1792 the Baptist Missionary Society had been formed and next year Rev. Mr. Carey and Mr. Thomas arrived at Calcutta. With the arrival of Mr. Carey the work of the mission began in earnest. He settled at first in Maldah and began to work in the neighbouring places. He was followed in 1799 by his valued associates—Messrs. Ward, Brunsdon, Grant and Marshman who formed a group by themselves at Serampore. Carey was attached to the College of Fort William after this and his work there was important from the point of view of the Bengali language and literature, but he was not wholly lost to mission work. The vernacular dialect was a powerful weapon. In all ages religious reformers use it to preach their new doctrine—Luther in Germany, Wyclif in England, Buddha in Northern India. In 1801, Carey translated the New Testament into Bengali, in 1809 he did the same service with regard to the Old Testament. The translation of the Bible was considered a very valuable work, and Dr. Buchanan, Mr. Udney, and Rev. David Brown constituted a corresponding committee to promote the translation of the Scriptures into the Eastern languages. In 1809, the funds of the committee were increased from £200 to £500 and Mr. Henry Martyn and Mr. Thomason were added to the list of members. In 1811 was established the Calcutta Bible Society. It acted as a stimulus to the cause of vernacular translation and, as a necessary corollary, to that of verbal criticism. We may realise its activity when we remember that between the years 1811 and 1849 it issued 602, 266 copies of vernacular scriptures, in whole or in part, of which one-fourth was in Bengali. To understand the advance the language had made in these years one requires to glance at Ellerton or Carey and to refer to Yates for comparison. There had also been an appreciable fall in the price of the books; what cost Rs. 24 in 1811 would require only Rs. 6 in 1849.

The Bible did not take up all the energy of these missionaries; they were better organised in course of time. In 1813, Indian Episcopate had been established and Rev. T. F. Middleton, the First Bishop of Calcutta, came to India next year. There has been a steady increase in the number of workers since then. About 1816 the Church Missionary Society had 24 stations in India, of which 10 were situated in the Bengal Presidency. "Instruct the young, preach to the adults, and distribute religious books" was their programme of work. Accordingly, to execute the last item efficiently, a society was formed in 1823 to compose and distribute religious tracts. This was called the Calcutta Tract Society. Here is a list collected from the Calcutta Review, old series, of such tracts in Bengali distributed in 1823 :—

Memoir of Fatik Chand.
Mental reflection and enquiry after salvation.
Christ's Sermon on the mount.
Harmony of the Four Gospels—Parts III-VI.
Life of William Kelly.
Dialogue between a Durwan and a Malee.
History of Christ, the Saviour of the World.
Dialogue between Ram Hari and Shaddha.
On the Nature of God.
Dialogue between a Scotchman and a Native Gentleman.
Extracts from the Gospel Magazine—Nos. I, II.
Reward Book for Schools.
Scripture Extracts—Parables.
The Picture Room.
Catechism, 1st.
Catechism, 2nd.
Watt's first Catechism.

Rev. Mr. Duff's work in the field of education has already been described in detail (*Calcutta Review, January, 1926*). It was he who worked among the intelligensia of the Hindu population and all his first converts were young men with brilliant prospects, who left their family for the sake of religion. Of these Rev. K. M. Banerjee won distinction in his later career. The progress of the missions may be easily imagined when we remember that in 1852, there were 81,850 students in the Missionary Schools compared with 142,952 in 1872; and in the year 1854, a distinguished writer in the *Calcutta Review* thus describes the condition of the Missions :—

> " We hear of some 400, more or less educated, intelligent, active and zealous European Missionaries, engaged day and night in doing their philanthropical works, establishing themselves in the land, having formed no fewer than 300 stations, where they generally erect permanent buildings, and set their varied machinery at work, including no fewer than 2,000 schools which contain above 64,000 pupils of almost all classes of the Indian Community ; gathering round them in their several spheres altogether some thousands of their fellow agents, natives of the country, and in various degrees educated, trained, obedient men, fully prepared to carry out the designs of their employers and actually engaged in acting on the minds of the people, teaching in the schools, preaching and distributing books innumerable in the bazar, and at the melas or in various noted places,—as well as journeying about the village—pursuing their work of propagandism—spending on this work not far short of £200,000 sterling per annum."

How things stand to-day is worthy of consideration. Says the Census Report for 1921 :—

> " Christianity has made but little impression upon the population of Bengal when measured by the number of converts which have been made. The number of Christians is but 31 per 10,000 of the population, less than one in 300, and among Indians only one in 356. The total in Bengal, 149,069 is only one in 320 of the Christians in India, for the proportion of the total population which Christians form is very much higher in Southern India......Christians are more numerous in Central Bengal than in other divisions of the province, mainly by reason of a large number found in Calcutta and the 24-Parganas.......It will be seen that the largest body of Christians is in Calcutta. To this body Europeans and Anglo-Indians subscribe rather more than two-thirds. The 24-Parganas, and Dacca, are the only districts outside it which hold more than 10,000, though.........," etc.

There were newspapers and magazines started by Christians—the Vernacular Press thus continuing the instructions given in the school. The Digdarshan was based on Penny and Saturday Magazines as its model, and propaganda was carried on in the form of sermons, dialogues, and anecdotes from the Bible. In the Bangabandhu, a magazine in the latter part of the century under Christian management, it is remarkable how the paper bears the impress of Bankim Chandra's influence—a few lines from the বন্দেমাতরম্ are quoted as its motto, and there is an article বঙ্কিমবাবুর কৃষ্ণচরিত্র বনাম খৃষ্টচরিত্র.

Thus we see how the Christian Missions, by establishing an Indian Episcopate, translating the scriptures, publishing and distributing religious tracts, starting schools and colleges for the education of the young, were eager and energetic in their work of conversion. Their attempts evoked great opposition both from the orthodox and the liberal sections of the Hindu population.

The Brahmo Samaj.

The Brahmo Samaj, however, did not owe its origin to any such opposition. Raja Ram Mohan Roy's life was a quest of truth from his very early years. When he was 16, this quest of truth led him to Tibet. It was this striving after truth which did not allow him to settle down to a life of comparative ease after the close of his official career in 1814, when he came down to Calcutta. During his stay in Calcutta from 1814 to 1830 he was connected with the reform movements of Bengal. The establishment of the Hindu College was in some measure due to his foresight and enthusiasm ; with the anglicisation of Government educational policy he had something to do ; he shared in the political aspirations not only of his country but also of lands far away from his native shore. But more vital still was the new way of worship—so different from his contemporaries ; he was opposed to the conventional Hindu worship of gods and goddesses, opposed to the caste system, opposed to the Suttee which he helped to abolish. He was a Vedantist and his years of stay at Calcutta were occupied with preaching the monotheistic doctrines of the Vedanta. In 1828, he started a Upasanasabha. So far all was right; there had been no western influence except perhaps, the congregational system of worship which he favoured;—on the contrary Ram Mohan's papers—he had his own organs to preach his views—were anti-missionary in their tone and ideas. The Raja left India in 1830, and after spending 3 years in England and France, died in 1833. After him the movement was guided by Dwarka Nath Tagore and Ram Kanta Vidyabagish, but it could not make much of a headway. On the 7th Pous of 1843, Maharshi Devendranath Tagore with about 20 companions was initiated formally into the Brahmo religion. The Maharshi drew his spiritual nourishment from the Upanishads; and beside questioning the infallibility of the Vedas and ignoring the sanctity of caste in the conduct of divine worship—steps which he was persuaded to take by Akshoy Kumar—made no departure from the existing traditions of Hindu society. On the other hand, he dreaded the gathering influence of Christianity on the new religion—and at least once he mentioned this as খ্রীষ্টবিভীষিকা. There was no sharp division as yet between his followers and the orthodox section of the Hindus;—consequently no sectarian feelings existed. It was for Keshab Chandra Sen to give a distinct shape to this legacy from Raja Ram Mohan and in his brief career he lived to see two splits in the new sect which he had done so much—and who like him?—to create.

Keshab could not boast of being free from any western influence. He thought and asserted—the Bible was indispensable to man (Keshab Charita, p. 2). He learnt the highest truths from Christian scriptures, English science and European history. Shakespeare, Milton and Young were his favourite poets. When he was only 18, 19 or 20, Young's Night Thoughts sustained him and fed his passionate mood. In 1859, he opened a Brahma Vidyalaya in Sinduriapati (the Hindu-Moslem riot blazes forth here now and then—strange irony of fate!) where he began to teach theology in English. Devendranath's medium was Bengali and Keshab's English. Morrell, Cousin, Hamilton, Parker, Newman were his theological masters; intuition, revelation, penance, reverend, brother—

these terms were bodily and in significance imported from the western writers. He also organised preachers for missionary work—an order of brotherhood long forgotten in Bengal. He tried to give a scientific interpretation of these and fully admitted the western influence on him. He was in close correspondence with Unitarians like Newman across the seas. During his service at the Bank of Bengal he used to compose small tracts in English. In the Victoria Memorial Hall in Calcutta there is a portrait of Keshab Chandra Sen where he stands with the Bible, the Avesta, the Rigveda and the Quoran beside him; it is a fit symbol of the eclectic nature of his creed. Keshab Chandra was a force in his day. Old men who were fortunate in hearing him hold forth to his audience, still remember and admire the inspired words. It was his original purpose to have a number of apostles of the New Dispensation, each one of whom would take up a distinct line of work in connection with a particular creed for the benefit of the eclectic creed—the New Dispensation. This idea of *synthetical reconstruction* is to be taken into account in estimating the work of Keshab Chandra, but that is beside our purpose. The great influence he exerted on his contemporaries helped much to popularise western ideas in matters of theology. And out of the great schism when Keshab drifted away was made the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj which is constituted on purely democratic lines as the term Sadharan indicates—authority and tradition were to have no more any sway, the Sadharan Samaj prides itself on being guided solely by reason.

Neo-Hinduism.

The many oppositions which Hinduism had encountered made it look to the efficiency of its own constitution and called for organisation on new lines. In the beginning of the century when the missionary activity was not so prominent, when Raja Ram Mohan's new mode of worshipping the Supreme God had not many followers, this call was not so urgent. But the interests of the Hindus were zealously guarded by such leaders as Raja Radha Kanta Dev and Ram

Comul Sen. Thus we find that when Sir Edward Hyde East, in the informal meeting leading to the foundation of the Hindu College, mentions the name of Raja Ram Mohan as one of the members, all the other people holding orthodox views without whose co-operation the success of the project seemed an absurdity, made known their refusal to work conjointly with him. In this emergency, Ram Mohan, with characteristic self-effacement, withdrew from the Committee. We also know popular songs were composed condemning the mischievous (as it seemed to the orthodox party) action of the Raja in worshipping one God after his new-fangled (?) theory. There was opposition offered to the Christian Missionaries and papers started for the purpose. There was some stir in Hindu society when Derozio's teachings revolutionised the thoughts and ideas of Young Bengal and it was doubted whether all the Hindu College boys would renounce their religion in favour of free-thinking or Christianity. Hence the removal, grossly unjust, of Derozio from the Hindu College staff. There were other instances of Hindu activity. When Duff took the field, he challenged Babu Pramothanath Dev, a rich and enthusiastic Hindu gentleman, to prove the superiority of Hinduism. There were numerous fights in the residence of Babu Mathura Mohan Sen of Jorabagan. Society was astir.

The Hindu College boys organised the Hindu Theophilanthropic Society and the first meeting was held at the residence of Babu Kissory Chand Mittra, the Secretary of the Society, on the 10th February, 1843. Its object was to teach the Hindus to worship God in spirit and in truth, and to enforce those sacred and moral duties which man owes to his Maker, and to his fellowman. Its campaign was against Hindu idolatry and it sought to preach sound and enlightened views of the Supreme Being. The meetings were to be held once every month when discourses were given in English and Bengali on the nature and attributes of the Deity and general, moral, and religious principles. It also held within its scope the preparation and publication of Bengali tracts on moral and religious subjects and the reprinting of Bengali and Sanskrit works of a like nature. The attendance was fairly representative, Dr. Duff, Rev. K. M. Banerjee, Akshoy Kumar Datta, Ram Gopal Ghose, Iswar Chandra Gupta and others came and spoke in the meetings. Evidently, it was a move on the part of the liberal section of the community.

The first occasion when we find the orthodox party organising itself is in 1848, when the Dharma Sabha was established, under the distinguished patronage of Raja Radha Kanta Dev. But more remarkable than that is what may be called the Geeta movement, for want of a better expression. Among others we may mention Pandit Sasadhar Tarkachudamani, who wrote a treatise on the subject and who belonged to the extreme section of the orthodox party; there was Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, the distinguished novelist and man of letters, to whom Bengali literature owes so much, who neither renounced Krishna nor followed the orthodox school but tried to interpret his life in the light of reason and history through the journal Prachar; there was the Arya Mission Institution, a school where the teaching of the Geeta was compulsory; and Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, usually so reticent on religious questions, when pressed rather hard, would recommend the study of, and obedience to the Geeta. Towards the end of the century, in the eighties. the "Lord Gauranga" movement, bearing a clear stamp of the west, also made some noise; last, though by no means the least, comes the Ram Krishna Mission, which has sent its missionaries to Europe and America, and preached Vedanta which, it asserts, is the common meeting ground of all religions. In this connection, it will not do to omit all mention of Babu Bhudeb Mukerjee, whose power of synthesis was little short of the marvellous, and whose cultural Hinduism is in sharp contrast with Bankim Chandra's political Hinduism, and though he did not belong to any particular movement he clung to the orthodox school and offered rational explanation of his belief prescribing courses of conduct in the family and society, to the nineteenth century anglicised Bengali Hindus. Raj Narayan Basu, Chandranath Basu and Akshoy Chandra Sarkar who wrote generally in favour of Hinduism, are lesser lights in comparison with the above.

From the above survey of the Christian Missions, the Brahmo Samaj, and the Hindu revivalist movement, we may partly, if not in a full measure, realise the currents of thought which agitated the public of the day. The issues are not yet dead, but still vital and full of significance for literature and life of the times.

Social Movements.

The religious movements which threw young Bengal into so much agitation could not but be attended by corresponding social movements in the Hindu society where there were specific rules against dining and generally mixing with people professing a different creed. Difficulty was felt in regard to those who renounced their traditional religion and embraced Christianity or Brahmoism—specially the former of these. At first they were legally debarred from the rights of inheritance. The bar was, however, removed by an act of legislature.

The converts from Hinduism were not only assured of their legal rights—it was a step taken by the Government—but attempts were made by the leaders of the orthodox section to ensure their social rights, at least the right to go back to Hinduism if the converts so wished it. If it was possible for them to renounce their religion, it was argued, there should be nothing to prevent them from reverting to the folds of the Hindu society, in case they happened to change their minds. Accordingly there was in circulation a small tract signed by about 100 orthodox Brahmin Pandits advocating the measure of receiving such people back after due penance had been performed and admitting that it was quite consistent with the injunctions laid down in the Shastras. There was for the pursuance of this measure a Patitoddhar Sabha which would meet at the residence of Babu Shib Chandra Mallik of Amratola, Calcutta, After the abolition of the Sutee custom, the question of widow remarriage came to the front, and the opposition offered by the orthodox section to the proposed step may be illustrated by various incidents, of which the following is a specimen. About the year 1845, Babu Moti Lal Seal, it is said, offered a gift of Rs. 10,000 ten thousand to any Hindu who should dare to marry a widow of his own faith. Moti Babu, in one of the meetings held to request the people belonging to the orthodox party to petition to the Government asking them to remove all legal hindrances in the matter, met with a rebuff ; they would rather sign a petition for freely burning their widows as was the custom in the good old days before 1829. But the tide turned when Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar entered the field and showed by quoting chapter and verse from the Hindu law books that widow-remarriage was sanctioned by the Hindu Shastras. The question now received a much wider consideration ; Dasu Ray composed a panchali on the subject ; popular songs passed from village to village ; even cloths had their borders printed with reference to the newly proposed measures, quoting lines from these songs. Vidyasagar's book, বিধবা বিবাহ প্রচলিত হওয়া উচিত কিনা materially helped the cause. Within one week of its publication, the first edition of 2,000 copies was exhausted ; and the next edition of three thousand copies was also sold out very early. Petitions containing signatures of numerous persons belonging to various sections were sent up, and through the advocacy of the Hon'ble Mr. J. P. Grant, the Widow Remarriage Act—the Act XV of 1856—was passed. For his help in furtherance of the measure, Mr. Grant received a public address.

The curse of Kulinism or polygamy for the Kulin Brahmins had long been felt. Vidyasagar's name is associated with the movement which aimed at its removal. His treatise—*Bahu Bibaha*—is a historical account of Bengali Brahmins and shows up the grossness of their attitude towards women in the middle ages when they were considered to be nowise better than dumb domestic animals. In his attempt to reform, Vidyasagar did not stand alone. The exertions of Babu Rash Behari Sarma, a native of Tarpasha in Bikrampur, deserve to be remembered. He was a writer of popular songs and toured through the villages of Eastern Bengal, singing songs composed by him for the occasion—preaching against this pernicious custom ; two extracts are given below from his ballads :—

১। বিদ্যাসাগর বিচার করে,
রাসবিহারী ঘুরে মরে,
আমাদের যে নয়ন ঝরে,
তার কি পথ ?

২। তোরা দেখ্ এসে লো বৌ, দীপেরে চেরাগ কয়।
(পোড়া) লোকে কয়, বিয়ে হলেই হয়।
(মোদের) অর্থ গেল, বিত্ত গেল, এ পথ গেল, ও পথ গেল,
(এখন) প্রকাশ পেল, এটা হিন্দুর মেয়ে নয়।

Moreover, in 1855, certain enlightened Bengalis of Calcutta and its suburbs submitted a joint petition to the then Legislative Council for an act against this institution of Polygamy. Another petition, largely signed by the orthodox Pandits of Eastern Bengal and recommending the abolition of the custom by an act of legislature, was sent by Babu Raj Mohan Ray, a Zemindar of Dacca. One of these petitions was signed by more than twenty thousand people. The movement continued for about 20 years, but it did not receive the legislative support which was at first expected ; views of the people have changed by education and the economic question also has demanded greater attention and for all practical purposes, the custom may be said to be extinct at the present time.

One of the evils which attended English education in its initial stage was drink, from which not even the illustrious men, leaders in all questions of reform, were exempt. In 1864, however, the Bengal Temperance Society was started by Peary Charan Sarkar to counteract the tendency and the practice of Young Bengal in this direction. It had two organs to disseminate its views—one in English and the other in Bengali—the

Well-wisher and হিতসাধক. In connection with the reform measures proposed or carried out in the last century, the Consent Bill deserves a passing mention.

It should not be presumed that the movements described above must have been the direct results of English education or organised only by people imbued with western ideas, but it must be conceded that the principles of monogamy, of widow-remarriage, of a temperance society for the eradication of the drink evil are widely current in western countries and had been accepted in this country after considerable opposition.

Political Movement.

Political consciousness was not a new thing with the Hindus. It was bound to come with the loss of political power. It was present in Ram Mohan whose sense of it was so strong that he could glory in the emancipation of other lands far away. After him, Derozio's love for India expressed in vigorous verse had no doubt its share in forming this consciousness in Young Bengal. The study of history of other countries must have stimulated it. Tarachand Chakravarty's *Quill*, an English organ, helped to keep alive the embers of political fire and annoyed Government officers by its searching criticism of their action.

The impetus towards political organisations, however, came with Mr. George Thompson,[1] sometimes styled rather enthusiastically as the Father of Political Education in India, a famous anti-slavery orator who accompanied Dwarkanath Tagore on his return to India in 1842. It was the acute distress of the Upper Provinces on account of outbreaks of famine that first drew India to his notice. He had to stir up political consciousness and lectured at Maniktala Garden House of the late Babu Srikissen Singh, 31 Fouzdaree Balakhana, etc. He had great faith in the efficacy of educating the British public on Indian matters. The old Hindu College boys gathered round him and his speeches stirred them and the British India Society was established on 20th April, 1843, with the British India Society of England formally established 4 years before through his initiative as its model. Bengal began to take an interest in politics and Ram Gopal Ghose's career took a new direction. By speech and writing, he made his voice felt on all important occasions ;—in the Town Hall meeting of the 24th December, 1847, where he silenced three prominent English barristers by his skilful arguments and persuasive eloquence and carried his point ; regarding the proposed removal of the Hindu Burning Ghat from Nimtolla, when he made a very effectual protest ; against the European opposition to certain "Draft Acts commonly called Black Acts" when his performance evoked vindictive vehemence of his European opponents.

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[1] See speeches by Mr. George Thompson, ed. by Raj Jogeshur Mitter. (Messrs. S. K. Lahiri & Co.), 1895.

The British India Society was amalgamated with the Landholder's Society and transformed into the British Indian Association in 1849, through the efforts of Ram Gopal Ghose and his associates. The work of Ram Gopal was continued by Harish Mookerjee, Shambhu Chandra Mookerjee and Kristodas Pal. Harish Mookerjee was a power in those days. He made a memorable protest against Dalhousie's conquest of Oudh ; but his more important work was the support given to Canning's Clemency Policy, when that policy was severely criticised by European residents in India and when Bengal seemed to be speechless and powerless before the blind wrath of infuriated Englishmen goaded to revenge by the horrors of the mutiny. Canning himself would, it is said, consult the Patriot regularly and attach to it much importance as the organ of Indian opinion. Nor should we forget the yeoman service rendered by Harish in connection with the Indigo Commission. অসময়ে হরিশ মোলো, লংএর হোলো কারাগার—thus ran the popular song. Harish Mookerjee was cut off at 39 in 1861. Shambhu Chandra's was a journalistic career—he edited the *Samachar-i-Hindusthani* of Lucknow, the *Hindu Patriot*, the *Mookerjee's Magazine* which later on was named *the Rais and Rayat.* He also worked in various other capacities—as Minister of Hill Tipperah, Political Adviser to the

Nawab Nazim of Bengal, Personal Assistant to the Nawab of Rampur. Shambhu Chandra and Kristo Das were life-long friends ; and the subsequent career of Kristo Das Pal was almost identified with the successful conduct of the Hindu Patriot and, we may remember, the controversy round the Ilbert Bill. In this connection it will be sufficient to glance at those men of letters who tried to rouse a sense of political nationalism in Bengal through their writings—Bankim Chandra, Dinabandhu and Jogendranath Bidya-Bhusan ; Bankim Chandra through his novels and essays, and Dinabandhu in his *Nildarpan*, and Jogendranath through the *Shomaprakash*, which began in 1858, and introduced Mazzini, Garibaldi, and Cavour and William Wallace to the Bengali public. Mazzini, the Italian pariot, had taught the ideal of unity and the Indian patriots saw the vision of a united India.

> "It was Mazzini, the incarnation of the highest moral forces in the political arena,—Mazzini, the apostle of Italian unity, the friend of the human race, that I presented to the youth of Bengal. Mazzini had Italian unity. We wanted Indian unity. Mazzini had worked through the Young. I wanted the young men of Bengal to realize their potentialities......I soon popularized Mazzini among the young men of Bengal."
>
> —Sir Surendranath in his *A Nation in Making*, p. 43.

We may also note that there has been, since the eighties, a movement towards the improvement of indigenous industries and this movement had been fostered by the Hindu Mela, when Rabindra Nath was a young man. It was in 1896, that the first Bengal Provincial Conference was held at Krishnagar where speeches were made in Bengali for the first time in provincial politics.

As the British Indian Association had become in course of time the organisation of the landed aristocracy of the province, in 1876 was started a new society called the Indian Association which is still flourishing and which has done much useful work in spreading political ideas among the intelligensia. At first it was suggested that the Association should be named Bengal

Association, but the leaders, inspired by Mazzini's idealism, saw the vision of a United India and accordingly named it the Indian Association.

The conception of the Congress came from Mr. Hume. It was he who suggested to Lord Dufferin the advisability of there being a central or All-India body of educated gentlemen who would come together from time to time and discuss social topics under the Presidentship of the administrative head of that province where they would meet. Lord Dufferin rather favoured the idea of an opposition party in the country which might criticise the government policy and the conduct of the officials and thus work for the efficiency of public services. When the idea was accordingly circulated to the leaders, they took it up eagerly and decided to hold at Poona a gathering of representatives from various parts of India during the X'mas holidays, to promote mutual intercourse and to discuss the programme for the next year. The first Congress was held at Bombay, not Poona where there was an outbreak of cholera. The second Congress met at Calcutta. To these gatherings sympathetic Englishmen would come and take part in the discussions that ensued. Mr. George Yule, Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. Alfred Webb were elected Presidents in the 4th, 5th and 10th sittings. Mr. Bradlaugh of England, a famous and active member of the Parliament, was present in the 5th Congress and was hailed with joy. In these years, topics like the following occupied the attention of the leaders :—

1. Reconstitution and gradual Indianisation of the Public services.
2. Separation of the Judicial and the Executive.
3. The Arms Act.
4. The growing poverty of the country.
5. The question of Indian labour on the Indenture system.

The leaders looked forward to the Parliament to remedy the evils which the country suffered from. Their idea was frankly expressed in the *Prachara* of 1889 :—

আমাদিগের কি দুঃখ, আমরা কি চাই, তাহা পার্লিমেণ্টে দাঁড়াইয়া কেহ বলা চাই, কেন না, পার্লিমেণ্টে ভিন্ন আর কাহারও দ্বারা কিছু উপকার হইবার সম্ভাবনা নাই।

An office was opened in England for propaganda work with the *India* for its organ. Surendranath's was the outstanding personality of the times.

Reading his Autobiography *"A Nation in Making"* penned towards the close of his career, we find that he had been largely inspired by Western ideals and that he had been all along accustomed to look up to the West. We are speaking of his political activities ; and the reader will draw his own conclusions from the passage quoted below :—

> *(Speaking of Kristo Das Pal and others)*......the new school of politicians, fresh from their contact with the West, familiar with Western methods and imbued with the Western spirit, left the beaten track and extended the scope of their work by direct appeals to the educated community and even to the masses. The new ideals and the new methods moved the people, and imparted to them an impulse that bore fruit in the manifold activities of an awakened national life." *A Nation in Making, —p. 198.*

This is Surendranath's reading of the political situation. And what about his own attitude ? When starting the boycott agitation in Bengal, the organisers of the movement commissioned Surendranath to consult "some English friends as to whether they would advise such a resolution and what should be its form"; (p. 192) and when it received the sanction—or was it the imprimatur ?—of Englishmen, only then boycott as a temporary measure and for a particular object was proposed. The "moderate" party, whose great representative Sir Surendranath was, has always stood and even now stands, for grafting English parliamentary politics on the soil of this country.

Sterner ideas and ideals have dominated the political field since ; the Partition of Bengal in 1905 roused the opposition of the people and its consciousness of power; and though the partition has been annulled, the antagonism called forth by it has not toned down in any considerable degree. Politics is no longer a resort for fashionable and educated gentlemen of position ; even school boys and poor men have taken it up, rightly or wrongly, as their life's vocation, and have freely given their life's blood to the cause. It is the dominant question of the day and has cast into shadow everything else, though it may be for a short while. Hence the importance of attending to the clear western impress which is manifest in the department of politics. In tracing the growth of extremism in a broader sense than political, Sir Surendranath in his reminiscences emphasises the nature of this impress. Says he,

> —" Our fathers, the first fruits of English education, were violently pro-British. They could see no flaw in the civilisation or the culture of the West. They were charmed by its novelty and its strangeness. The enfranchisement of the individual, the substitution of the right of private judgment in place of traditional authority, the exaltation of duty over custom, all came with the force and suddenness of a revelation to an Oriental people who knew no more binding obligation than the mandate of immemorial usage and of venerable tradition......Everything English was good—even the drinking of brandy was a virtue ; everything not English was to be viewed with suspicion. It was obvious that this was a passing phase of the Youthful mind of Bengal ; and that this temperament had concealed in it the seeds of its own decay and eventual extinction. In due time came the reaction, and with a sudden rush. And from the adoration of all things Western, we are now in the whirlpool of a movement that would recall us back to our ancient civilisation, and our time-honoured ways and customs, untempered by the impact of the ages that have rolled by and the forces of modern life, now so supremely operative in shaping the destinies of mankind" (p. 308).

Coming back to the narrower domain of politics we find that the Boycott movement over the Partition of Bengal, the Anti-circular Society, the Home Rule Agitation, the Non-co-operation movement with civil disobedience to fall back upon as its ultimate step—in all these the western influence is visible on the surface, and though they are not wholly due to it they are largely indebted to the ideas of the French Revolution, the Irish Home Rule agitation, the Young Italy movement and the civil disobedience theories of Thoreau and Tolstoy. If terms mean anything, the significance of the incorporation of such words as Congress, Delegate, Vote, Conference, etc., will not be wholly lost.

In bringing this brief essay to a conclusion, we should like to repeat that there has been a great wave of western influence passing over all the varied walks of life and that the extent of such influence will be partly realised when we consider it as moulding the public movements of the time in Bengal. In social, religious and political matters our thoughts as they now are owe a good deal to the West.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

A NOTABLE CONTRIBUTION ON INDIAN HISTORY[1]

"Truth has an eternal title to our confession, though we are sure to be sufferers by it."

This book—*The Other Side of the Medal*—presents an account of the so-called Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, the true story of which is but little known even to the historians, and to the public not at all. The author is an Englishman and feels that much unjust propaganda and deliberate lies have been circulated about the Sepoy Mutiny, even by those who class themselves as "Christian Missionary Statesmen," "the missionary leaders who are trusted and encouraged at Foreign Offices and Colonial Offices." He informs his readers at the preface of the book that he has written the book, in spite of opposition from many English religious leaders who felt that the time was not ripe for telling the other side of the question. The author is not an anti-British propagandist; on the contrary he feels that India is Britain's business and the Americans and others must not meddle in it. (Page 125.)

To paint Britain's enemies in the darkest hue is the general British method of writing history. For instance, during the World War, the British War Office invented the story that the Germans were boiling the bodies of the dead soldiers to secure fat. Now we know that this ingenious lie was spread all over the world even in Germany to create deep and gruesome impression about the brutality of the Germans. This method was adopted to rouse indignation among the Chinese who respect the dead, against the Germans, and at the same time to win world sympathy towards the cause of the British who were engaged in the fight to protect the "poor Belgians" and to help "to make the world safe for democracy." Most of the official histories of the Sepoy Mutiny were prepared to spread what the

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[1] "The Other Side of the Medal" by Edward Thompson, Harcourt, Brace & Co., N. Y.

British authorities saw fit to tell the world and thus they are full of misinformation.

The author in this work shows that although the British were not fiends, but to strike terror in the mind of the people of India, most horrible forms of wholesale massacres of Indians —young and old, women and children, combatants and non-combatants—were carried on by the British military and civil authorities. Mr. Thompson, in every case, has substantiated his point, by quoting most authentic documents and writings of British officials, that Indians were blown from the mouths of cannons, indiscriminate burning of the villages, and wholesale hangings were the practice sanctioned by the British authorities in India. The author in one instance quotes a letter of the late Lord Roberts who was a subaltern and took an active part in the suppression of the Mutiny :

> "When a prisoner is brought in, I am the first one to call out to have him hanged." (Page 52.)

In another place he quotes :

> " The executions of Natives were indiscriminate to the last degree.... In two days forty-two men were hanged on the roadside and a batch of twelve men were executed because their faces were ' turned the wrong way ' when they were met on the march. All the villages in his front were burnt when he halted. *These severities would not have been justified by the Cawnpore massacre, because they took place before the diabolical act.*" (p. 68).

He further quotes from Kaye's History of the Sepoy War the following passage :

> " Martial Law had been proclaimed; those terrible Acts passed by the Legislative Council in May and June were in full operation; *and soldiers and civilians alike were holding Bloody Assizes, or slaying Natives without any assize at all, regardless of sex or age. Afterwards, the thirst for blood grew stronger still. It is on the record of our British Parliament, in papers sent home by Governor-General of India in Council, that the aged, women and children, are sacrificed, as well as*

those guilty of rebellion. They were not deliberately hanged, but burnt to death in their villages—perhaps now and then accidentally shot. Englishmen did not hesitate to boast or to record their boastings in writing, that they had '*spared no one* ' and that ' jeering away at niggers' was very pleasant pastime, 'enjoyed amazingly' (p. 71).

The following passage from the report of "Governor-General in Council," 24th December, 1857, on the state of affairs in the previous July, quoted by the author throws considerable light on the condition of the people throughout the North Western Provinces and the Punjab :

> " The indiscriminate hanging, not only of persons of all shades of guilt, but of those whose guilt was at the least very doubtful, and the general burning and plunder of villages, whereby the innocent as well as the guilty, without regard to age or sex, were indiscriminately punished, and in some cases, sacrificed, had deeply exasperated large communities not otherwise hostile to the Government; that the cessation of agriculture, and consequent famine were impending; that there were sepoys passing through the country, some on leave, others who had gone to their homes after the breaking up of regiments, having taken no part in the mutiny, but having done their utmost to prevent it; others who had risked their lives in saving their European officers from the sanguinary fury of their comrades; and that all of these men, in the temper that at that time generally prevailed among the English officers and residents throughout the country, and still unhappily prevails in some quarters, were liable to common penalty; and lastly, that the proceedings of the officers of the Government had given colour to the rumour...that the Government meditated a general bloody persecution of Mohammedans and Hindus." (Page 75.)

The principal point the author makes in the book is that although it is true that British women and children were massacred at Cawnpore by the Sepoys, but this should be regarded as the effect of the " bloody Assizes and wholesale burning of villages, etc." inaugurated by the civilized and Christian British Officials and men. The British historians in general have suppressed the darker side of the British exploits and if any Indian scholar like Mr. Savarkar ever tried to tell the truth of the situation, he was charged with spreading disaffection and racial hatred and put in prison or punished in some other ways. The author pleads what late R. C. Dutt did long ago—the British should not force Indian children to learn half truths about their ancestors and the Sepoy Mutiny.

Mr. Thompson thinks that the memories of the outrages committed by the British during the Sepoy Mutiny—the Massacre at Kabul, the blowing up from the mouth of cannons of the Kuka Sikhs at Amritsar, the Jalianwalla Bag affair (commonly known as the Amritsar Massacre) and the suffocation of the Moplah prisoners in a train—are supplying fuel to the fire of hatred cherished by the Indian people to their alien rulers. He pleads that the English should be generous towards Indians and make some form of "atonement" which will bring about better understanding between the people of India and England. He says :

> "There is no commoner word on Indian lips to-day than *atonement*. England, they say, has never made atonement; and she must do it before we can be friends. The word in their minds is the Sanskrit *prayaschitta*, unusually translated *atonement*, but its meaning is rather a *gesture*. It is not larger measures of self-government for which they are longing, it is the magnanimous gesture of a great nation, so great that it can afford to admit mistake and wrong-doing, and too proud to distort facts." (Page 131.)

Distorting facts about India and Indian aspirations is the order of the day, as it was in the past. Mr. Thompson is not free from the charge, when he gives the impression that the people of India are not asking for "larger measures of self-government." With regret it must be said that Mr. Thompson has distorted facts when he charges the Indian Home Rule League of America, spreading lies about India under the British rule, as the Irish in America did about Ireland (!) (page 125). The case for India is sufficiently strong to attract world sympathy, if the truth is known by the world at large. We hold that the fate of 320,000,000 people is not Britain's private affair. The relation that exists between Britain and India is something like that which is prevalent between a slave-driver and his slaves; and that is the greatest stumbling block in the way of any permanent friendship between those two nations. It is our conviction that the rusty conscience of the British public will be quickly awakened to the sense of justice, through rousing world public opinion, by spreading truth about India.

TARAKNATH DAS

TO MY MUSE

In heart's dream-land thou art the fay,
The sweetness thou of what men say,
Thy smile fulfils desires of life,
Serene peace-gem 'midst trial and strife.
Smoother thou of wrinkled brow,
Of sorrow sore the soother thou,
Enchantress thou of ear and eye,
Thy mystic touch to truth turns lie,
Makes youth grow old and old grow young,
As song of life by thee is sung,
Life dies, death lives at thy command,
Turns silence song thy magic wand.
Thy look transforms discordant screech
To beauteous nymph's unuttered speech.
Ah! ever free thy moving power
Be-decks with charms anew each hour.
Bright gods of spheres for thy dear sake
Descend, new worlds to make and make.
I care not, I ask not, whatever thou art,
I know but I love thee—true life of my heart.

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

KALICHARAN BANURJI

Kalicharan Banurji was born in 1847 and died in 1907 when he had almost completed his sixtieth year.

He was educated in the Oriental Seminary and the Free Church Institution (later on known as Duff College). The whole of his college Arts course he took in the latter Institution. He passed the Entrance Examination of the Calcutta University in 1860 when he was only a boy of thirteen and was placed in the First Division. He passed the First Examination in Arts in 1862, taking the seventh place in the First Division, the first place being occupied by Rashbehari Ghosh, who subsequently became famous as a lawyer and jurist. At the B.A. Examination of 1865 the first place in the first division was taken by Chandranath Bose who subsequently rose to eminence as a writer of Bengali, the second place was occupied by two men, Blochmann who became later on Principal of Calcutta Madrassah and came to be known far and wide as a linguist and Rashbehari Ghosh, and Kalicharan stood just below them. In 1866 the subject of this sketch alone came out in the first class in Mental and Moral Philosophy; one of his examiners, Rev. J. Trafford, Principal of Serampore College, remarked in this connection that Kalicharan's answers were perfect except that he had made Scotch use of 'shall' and 'will,' and no wonder, for he had been educated in the Free Church of Scotland Institution!

In 1866 he was appointed Professor of Philosophy and English Literature in the Free Church Institution and he continued to work in this capacity till 1880. As Professor of Logic and Philosophy Kalicharan's reputation stood very high. Logic in the F.A. classes he used to teach in Bengali, as he had found that students of the 1st and 2nd year classes could not follow intelligently lectures in Logic delivered in

English. The writer of this sketch actually heard from some of his students that his Bengali lectures in Logic were most impressive.

In 1877 he was appointed a Fellow of the Calcutta University. The old Minutes of the University show that he was not a prominent University figure till 1887. In 1893 when he was placed on the Syndicate he rose to great prominence. For ten years he was on the Executive of the Senate and for some years did the work of Vice-Chancellor, though he did not hold the Vice-Chancellorship, at meetings of the Syndicate. He presided at them as the Senior Fellow in the absence of the Vice-Chancellor who in those days attended meetings of the Syndicate very rarely. He was the first Bengalee paper-setter and examiner in B.A. English and for years was examiner of M.A. and Premchand Roychand studentship candidates.

From 1880 to 1897 he practised as a lawyer. He stood seventh in the First Class at the B.L. Examination in 1870 from the Presidency College and was enrolled as a Vakil of the Calcutta High Court in that year, but he began to practise from 1880. His practice was almost entirely confined to criminal mofussil courts. In a very short time he came to be recognised as an able criminal lawyer.

But he had never forgotten his first love. He was cut out for the work of a teacher. His fine analytical faculty enabled him to break up a complex subject into its parts and to show their connexion most lucidly. In 1885 he accepted a professorship of Law in one of the Calcutta Colleges and later on another professorship of Law in another Calcutta College and these posts he continued to hold till his death and even when he was Registrar of the Calcutta University and as such had very onerous duties to perform.

In 1897 when Professor Henry Stephen went home on furlough for eighteen months, Kalicharan Banurji taught Philosophy during all that time in the Free Church Institution.

He was a patriot and as a member and for some time president of the Indian Association and as a member of the Indian National Congress for years he was known as a good political speaker. He held that Government apart from the people was an abstraction and the people apart from Government was so also. He was for two years on the Bengal Legislative Council as elected representative of the Senate of the Calcutta University.

Kalicharan Banurji's interests were wide. He was nominated by Government as a member (Commissioner) of the Calcutta Corporation and did good work in that capacity.

But all that he did he subordinated to one thing which was the passion of his life—loyalty to Jesus Christ and His ideal. Great as a teacher, brilliant as an orator, Kalicharan was above all a religious preacher and he availed himself of every possible opportunity to bring men to the knowledge of the truth as it is in Christ Jesus.

The Indian Christian Community in Bengal has been privileged to record on its rolls illustrious names. The names of Krishnamohan Banerjea, scholar, linguist, statesman and theologian, Lalbihari Day, the greatest Bengalee writer of English prose, Michael Madhusudan Dutt, writer of immortal verse in Bengali whose *Meghnadhbadh Kavya* will endure as long as Bengali language and literature last, Toru Dutt '' the bloom whose petals, nipt before they blew, died on the promise of the fruit,'' a girl of true poetic genius, Ramchandra Bose, fascinating as a thinker, writer and speaker and Kalicharan Banurji, preacher, orator, patriot and educationist, will continue to shed lustre on the annals of Bengal, for they made solid contributions to some department of life or other and their services can never be ignored. One more name ought to be mentioned in this connection. Mahendralal Basak, one of Dr. Duff's converts, who was great in literature, great in Mathematics and great in Philosophy and was regarded as a real genius for his originality of thought, but was cut off by cholera at the age of twenty-one, would perhaps have proved the most distinguished ornament of the Bengalee Christian community had he lived longer.

Kalicharan was loved and respected by all sections of the community. Meek and humble, forgiving and generous, kind even to his enemies whose number, however, was microscopic, his personality will not readily be forgotten, and generations yet unborn, if they are told about him, will profit by the example of such a life.

J. R. Banerjea

WHEN THE CLOUDS ROLLED AWAY

You weighed me in the pans of pain
With heavy weights of doubt and care;
I clung to you—and oh! my gain!—
Your weight o'erbalanced all despair!
Like lotus filled with fragrant dew,
This heart is full of gratitude;
And opening offers self to You,
As ends the night of platitude!

Cyril Modak

LIFE OF THE CELEBRATED SEVAGY

[*Translator's Note* : One of the earliest biographies of Shivaji was written in Portuguese by one Cosme de Guarda about whom we know nothing. Guarda's work written in 1695 was not published till 1730 and its inaccuracies are both glaring and numerous. But its interest does not lie in its quaintness only. It gives us a fairly accurate idea of the impression that Shivaji had made on the minds of his neighbours and contemporaries. Not only his own countrymen but French, English, Portuguese and Dutch travellers were equally attracted by the uncommon personality and ability of this extraordinary man. It is, therefore, hoped that an English translation of this rare work of which only few copies are known will not be without interest and may be of some use to the students of Maratha History.—S. N. S.]

CHAPTER I.

His Birth and Early Career.

The village of Virar near the city of Bacaym in the territories of the Portuguese Crown was the birthplace of Sevagy. The lord of this village was Dom Manoel de Menezes, and people were not wanting who said that Sevagy was his son. May truth prevail. But at all events he has been known as the youngest of twelve sons [2] of Sagy, a Captain of Idalcao who died old governing the principalities of Madure, Tangan and Tinga. He was called Sevagy in honour of an idol, called Seva, much venerated by the gentiles to which is joined the word "gy" (which is the same as Senhor) Sevagy means Senhor Seva. He belonged to the Maraste nation as do all Hindus who inhabit the region between the city of Goa and Surrate.

It is the custom among these captains (and Europe will lose nothing in following it) to take their sons with them in war and other enterprises and Sevagy had not completed twelve years when his father gave him the command of thirty horses, among the many that these captains have in their charge. But as Sevagy was so young, he gave him as his tutor, an old soldier and near relative, called Neotagy,[1] who always accompanied him and never left him on account of the affection he felt for Sevagy and also because he knew that he was not only quick in action but lively in carriage also, for with a clear and fair face nature had given him the greatest perfections [3] speciallly the dark big eyes were so lively that they seemed to dart rays of fire. To these was added a quick, clear and acute intelligence. Sevagy was fifteen years of age when his natural cheerfulness was suddenly converted into perpetual sadness. He longed to be alone and was always so pensive that it attracted general notice. His tutor Neotagy in special felt much concerned and asked him several times whether he needed anything, and as he loved him so much he should tell him what troubled him and what he desired generally. His reply was that what he had in his mind caused him great distress. Neotagy said laughingly with a smile, 'Really my child it is well that you think about enterprises that you want to undertake and the reputation that you may acquire thereby.' And as he spoke in this fashion several times Sevagy replied, " You are not a prophet uncle but seem to be one in what you observe, for you know that my diligence is yet very small for my purpose." If Neotagy smiled then Sevagy (would continue)— "Laugh uncle [4] but before long you will perceive my reasons and your errors." The old man saw that the boy spoke like a man and seriously entreated him to confide his project to him for he would always find in him a friend and companion. Sevagy then mounted his horse and with him rode

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[1] The author probably means Netaji Palkar but Netāji was not Sivājī's uncle or guardian.

Neotagy and the thirty horsemen under his command. Leaving the army they posted themselves in a place where they would not be heard and Sevagy asked them all in a loud voice whether they would follow him to better their fortunes. Some replied in the affirmative and he (assured them) :"Then I promise you that your names will be celebrated, and in all these regions our deeds will be admired." "But what shall we do ?" asked Neotagy. "Humiliate the proud and make ourselves great," said Sevagy. Neotagy then promised that he would never fail him with his person and counsel and the thirty soldiers gave him such enthusiastic assurances as if he had already achieved the most notable victory. This done they returned to the army and awaited the opportunity that luck might present them [5]. This opportunity was soon found in the death of the King and the disunion that followed in the Court of Vizapur caused by the election that the Queen made of the son, so it is said, of an elephant-driver. The Moors are proud and haughty and much haughtiness was not needed to disobey a King of such humble origin. The nobles in particular felt so highly scandalised that they all left the court and retired to their lands and estates without the Queen's permission. And as it is a grave offence and sedition to go away without paying due respects to the King or him who rules, the court became devoid of courtiers (cavaliers, literally knights or gentlemen) and remained in a great confusion. Sevagy took this general disorder as an omen for his particular enterprise and so resolved (assim resolvendu-se) he left the army with his uncle and companions without taking his father's leave or telling him anything. [6] Travelling away from the public road they reached at daybreak a Hindu settlement many leagues off. In this settlement he furnished himself with necessaries for a few days and here, as well as in other villages he persuaded all the able (bodied) men he found to enlist with him, and he induced them with such skill that by the time he reached the territories of Visapur, he had with him five hundred horse. His credit had already much increased, for all thought that he was a great minister of the King or a personage of note in the kingdom. He arrived in the Province of Canolur, which was governed by a Mulato with the title of Sidizer[1] of Canolur. He was a captain of Visapur and very powerful. He was so offended with the election of the king that when summoned by the King and the Queen he not only disobeyed but sent a reply that King indeed he was in his lands where one who knew better to direct the goad of the elephant than the scepter never had any place. When Sidizer learnt of Sevagy's arrival, whose father was his friend, and understood his purpose, he communicated with him (Sivaji) by letters and presents, but they did not join each other. They made, however, an alliance between them and promised never to fail each other. This pact concluded Sevagy immediately entered the territories of Vizapur, plundering large and small places (7) above the Gate which is a hilly place of the world that crosses the whole of the country properly called India. Gate (all the Oriental languages agree in its meaning) is an eminence so to say, and it is really so high that there are places whence it would take ten hours to descend to the plain. Robbing many on the Gate, Sevagy descended below in Concao in its northern part (the plain that reaches the foot of the Gate is called Concao). Here he captured a fortress called Dabul, took possession of all the lands under its jurisdiction and killed all the Mouros he found, appointing Hindu Abaldares (they are Governors) all Marastes by nation as he was and all submitted with ease and pleasure.

At this time the new King Idalcao thought of leaving the Court of Vizapur to reduce Sidizer of Canolur to obedience and as he was the most powerful of all it caused him (the King) great anxiety and fear. The King arrived and laid siege to his place (8) which the Sidi defended well at the beginning. The King however received fresh reinforcement every hour and the

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[1] Probably he means Siddi Johar.

Sidi found himself hard pressed. Sevagy informed of this did not like to succour him as this could not be done without risking a battle with the King who had great power. Sevagy had then no more than seven hundred horse and two thousand peons, as it was too early to expose them to any danger, which, bad at all events, would be very harmful at the commencement of a project. But he descended the Gate again. Went to the Metropolis of Visapur which he besieged. He found it in such a state that he could capture it but he did not do so because he was not yet very strong and did not like to expose himself to its loss. He contented himself with plundering and he set fire to Abdulapur, Nacarapur, and Corapulur, three great settlements about a quarter of a league from the capital, and other places in the neighbourhood, leaving all in those and other places greatly astonished and frightened while the name of Sevagy became formidable. It was the best way he could safely help (9) his friend and it was so important that at the first notice the King raised the siege for he was afraid of losing his capital which would be difficult to recover. Sevagy in his turn (original only sabendo) retired to the territories of Rustamusaman,[1] another powerful Mulato and a confederate of his when he learned of the King's movement. Thence he again descended the Gate and on his way sacked an important place called Chandagosa. Here he obtained great wealth, for in this place dwelt many Baneanes who had fled from Goa with great sums belonging to the Portuguese (just punishment for their sin as they entrusted their money only to idolaters). Sevagy had as yet no residence nor did he build it anywhere. When he was supposed to be here he was there, and when suspected to be there (away) he would enter through the gates. He always took with him as many horses as he found in order to augment his troops for the people attracted by the good pay that he used to give were many. Sevagy spent much time ascending and descending the hills of Gate, and always sacked innumerable places (em sabir, edescer as serras do Gate saqneando sempere innumerabeis lugares se deteve muito tempo Sevagy) (10). He made the fortress of Dabul his arsenal and in the course of a year made himself master of the whole area in this maritime coast from Curale (three leagues from Bengorla—Vingurla) to the estuary which is thirty-six leagues (away). He soon reduced some other fortresses that still belonged to Idalcao till (he reached the one called Danda where was a Sidy (the same as Abyssinian). This is not the Danda near Chaul. For never by assault could be captured this fortress built on a steep and large rock with a large and deep ditch opened in the rock itself where Sevagy could not put his cavalry (much as he tried). Sevagy often sent expeditions to different places at the same time and in all of them he was convoked and he was in command. The question is still unsolved whether he substituted others for himself or he was a magician or the devil was in his place. Much has been said about it in India and there is much divergence of opinion as usual. If I had to give my opinion I would say that as he sent expeditions to two, three and four (11) places at the same time and as with every regiment went a Captain whom all obeyed and called Sevagy Raja (name that he had assumed after his rebellion) this mistake was caused by some people [*i.e.* fresh recruits] who came every day and did not know him well as yet. Hence arose the belief that he used to be in different places (at the same time). It was confirmed when the people robbed at different places met and all affirmed that Sevagy in person sacked these places on such a day or such a night at such an hour. And as among Indians much less suffices to confirm much more (than this) there grew the firm belief that Sevagy was everywhere.

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[1] Rustam-i-zaman who was universally suspected of having a secret understanding with Sivājī.

CHAPTER II.

The King Idalcao sends an army against Sevagy, the Commander of which Belulghan was vanquished, captured and killed by Sevagy.

The King Idalcao felt vexed that a boy, the son of one of his vassals, should sack his capital and make himself master of the whole (12) of the territories of Concao. He suspected that the grandees of the Kingdom helped Sivaji out of spite for him (the King) and wished to undeceive them by destroying Sevagy. For this purpose he selected Belulghan[1] an old Captain of the deceased King, of known valour and experience and gave him thirty-five thousand horse with orders to finish with Sevagy at all costs. The General departed and reached the highest part of the Gate and halted the army. From there he sent several spies to know where Sevagy mostly resided and while awaiting this information he ordered the destruction of several temples of idols to spite his adversary for being a Gentio. As no one knew, for certain, anything about Sevagy's residence the information was confused and contradictory. As the general could not come to any decision without definite information, he did not like to move from that place until this was verified. But Sevagy, wanting to relieve him of so much work, visited him many days in the same army or in his encampment in the following manner. He stripped himself totally and fastened a (piece of) cloth not very clean (this is to cover what must not be shown as they say in India), and putting (13) on his head bundles of grass, carried them to the General's stable. In this manner he examined the entrees and exits of the camp and particularly the quarters of the general. Disguised in this fashion he himself spoke to all and questioned all without being ever recognized by any one. At other times (or better sometimes) he sent his uncle Neotagy to the same army and both of them talked of the injuries that all received from Sevagy. Sometimes both of them would go through the army and not satisfied with what information the grass afforded they would find excuse for delay there to stay longer and to observe more. They would manage to lose their bundles there and would be thus detained by this occasion till they had seen and verified all that was necessary. Sevagy soon sent his uncle Neotagy to get one thousand horse and lead them to an appointed place by secret roads in the wood, while he contrived things in such a way as would facilitate the ascent of the Gate (the verb here is desempedir). The Mouro General had secured all (14) the roads of the Gate by posting peons in order to get immediate information of all occurrences, and as he felt secure, he was more at ease than was proper. Sevagy sent a squadron of his peons, who were like those in a draught board, his chosen men and so prompt and intelligent that they left nothing to be desired. But any prince who may imitate Sevagy can in the same manner organise a good army as Sevagy had done. For if any of these soldiers failed to execute his orders he would not appear before him but the more valorous and intelligent would at once avail themselves of the opportunity and immediately get their reward. So he was not only obeyed but loved. Sevagy then ordered a squadron of these soldiers, divided into many parties, so that they might not be recognized, to climb the roads of the Gate until they reached the sentinels of the army (camp?). These as if tired of climbing the height sat down when they were questioned by the Lascars (army) and replied that they came to enlist themselves (tomarpaga or to take the cavalry, but paga is written with a small 'p' here) to fight (against) [15] the robber Sevagy, against whom they feigned to desire vengeance for being robbed and they pretended that they came from a place recently sacked by Sevagy who had killed all those he could lay hands on and they and a few more who were coming behind only escaped. They immediately lay down to sleep and thus completely deceived the sentinels. Then arrived others who said and did the same thing. There were in all thirty-seven sentinels of the Mouros and they were sufficient for that road. Then the (new-comers) awoke and asked the sentinels to whom they would have to speak for enlistment and as they were replying the thirty-seven sentinels were surrounded and killed and (Sevagy's men) thus became the masters of the situation for there was no other way to ascend in that part. Information was immediately sent to Sevagy who at once ascended with one thousand cavalry and many infantry and disposed of them in such a manner that his men entered the camp in the second watch of the night. Sevagy divided his men into four parties and ordered that each band should take a different course (aqual dividio em partes).

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[1] Guarda probably means Afzal Khan but his information was confused and inaccurate.

The Moorish armies are like big cities, as many people follow them and come to the camp at all hours [16] without being questioned. Sevagy's men therefore passed through unnoticed and as they were so divided (into small parties) no one looked at them or questioned them particularly at that hour and in a place to all appearance safe. The divided party of Sevagy joined at the tent of the General, killed all who were near it and those who came out of it without imagining what was the matter. They thought at first that it was the noise of an elephant got loose for such noise was common. Having then encircled the camp of the General on all sides, they entered it and captured all the captains who were sheltered there. At the same time they went on killing outside but nobody in the whole army could explain the tumult for the confusion was so great that there was nothing but shouts. Sevagy ordered some of his men to raise a cry in this confusion that Sevagy had killed Belulghan and all the officers who were with him and all who could should save their lives. When this was heard there remained no one to restore order or seek [17] counsel, all sought a place to hide. Others killed their friends and thousands were despatched. The confusion lasted the whole night. The light of the morning found the camp with dead more numerous than the victors. Sevagy was victorious and richer with the spoil of elephants and horses which he sought and valued more than anything. His men at once went to salute Sevagy in congratulation of the victory, in the presence of Belulghan who had realised who he was. They gathered the spoils, all of which belonged to the soldiers except gold and silver that had to be delivered in its entirety to Sevagy under grave penalties. This was done with rare punctuality. Sevagy gave them on this account a good salary and with such punctuality that on the appearance of the New Moon each one received what had been promised him at the time of enlistment. While the soldiers refreshed themselves from their labour with the luxuries of the Moors, Sevagy expostulated with the vanquished General. Come here, he said, what share had these idols in the offences thou say'st—I committed! A brave exploit [18] it was to destroy stone buildings and to break mute images, that could not offer thee any resistance. Dost thou know that if thou hadst not committed these barbarities I would never resolve to seek thee. But knowing what thou didst in hatred of me I at once decided to show thee thy lack of sense. If on my account thou felt such passion against insensible things what wouldst thou do if thou hadst me under thy ire. Be assured that if I had not so much offence against thee and so much reason on my side I would never punish thee with more humiliation than thou hast suffered but to make thee realise what evil thou didst commit in wishing me so much ill thou wilt pay with thy life for what thou hast done. This said, he ordered his head to be cut off, swearing that henceforth he would do the same thing in the mosques he found and in many places he committed the same (insults) and more.[1] Among the captured officers was found a brother of his confederate Rastumuzaman. He not only permitted him to go free with many presents but on his account granted life to others and gave a horse to each of them for riding. They all promised [19] in return of these good terms to take up arms no more against him. This success caused great concern and fear not only in the whole of the Kingdom, but still more in the King himself who particularly felt the death of Belulghan, the only old and respectable captain he had on his side. The credit of Sevagy increased throughout the kingdom to such an extent that his name became formidable and so when he left that place for the North, he did not meet with resistance anywhere. All the citizens came out to receive him and to render him voluntary obedience with the fixed tributes and considerable presents. He ordered them not to pay tribute to any one else who might come to collect it and if on that account they were threatened with any harm they were to tell him that tribute had been paid to Sevagy and if that was not sufficient they should give Durai in his name (da sua parte). Durai is to demand the aid of somebody to whom an appeal is made. Duray Sevagy—I accuse you and summon you on the part of Sevagy, and if it was not obeyed an information was immediately sent for [20] prompt punishment. To the principal people he gave his Farmans or patents. Though the usual honour was not done to such papers, when they were shown to the tax collectors of the King or of the lords, they roused so much fear in their hearts and caused such embarrassment that most of the tax collectors left their duty unperformed and if any of them still dared (to perform his duty Sevagy) after learning where he resided then sent (his men) to attack his house (at night) where he was immediately killed and everything was set on fire. Sevagy's name however had already become so terrible that it was very rarely that anybody dared to defy him. He also resolved to take from Idalcao a great fortress, situated on a high hill that was as strong by nature as well furnished by art. It was so high and lofty that it could be seen from the adjacent country to the distance of many leagues. It was situated thirteen leagues from the sea in the area between Chaul and Caranja. And it was believed that no industry could subdue it, it was so shaped that from the highest top of that steep hill could be seen every place round its base. And if people [21] intended to ascend it, they could not do so by more than one road and this road was so well circumscribed and narrow that the big rocks at the foot of the castle sufficed for all who might be seen without in any case being able to cause harm to those above. This hill is called Rayaguer that is the Royal Residence, for the inhabitants say that here lived in ancient times the King of those parts. Sevagy knew how important that fortress would be to him as a secure place to reside in, but he knew well the difficulty of obtaining it, as confirmed by many a failure of superior forces. Only hunger and money could accomplish such an enterprise. The first because it extinguishes and the second because it corrupts nature and thus success. He sent a message to the Governor of the Fortress requesting him for a private interview with him in the middle of the hill as Sevagy had to confer with him about an important question. He (the Governor) replied that if the interview was in the form of a duel though he did not fear any single man, this action would not be well appraised [22] particularly when they were in arms, as all doubts could be resolved by their means. But in their present relation nothing occurred to him that could give occasion for interview, unless of course if it was an important affair and Sevagy lacked paper and ink which the Governor would send him. Sevagy knew that the Governor was right and immediately wrote to him that he did not mean what the Governor thought but his intention was rather different. It was to serve him and give him what would enable him to spend the whole of his life in rest without any dependence on the elephant-driver's son and as these things required much information he had begged for an interview in that manner. The Governor began to think of the proposal and this is the crime from which follows the greatest sin. He understood more or less what would be the proposal of Sevagy but either because he did not want it to be supposed that he feared Sevagy or because he already wanted to please him the Governor replied that he would grant the interview, and assigned the place, each regulating how his men should behave [23] during the interview which was to take place half way up the hill.

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[1] Shivaji never offered any insult to the holy places, shrines and mosques of Muhammadans.

On the appointed day at the appointed time Sevagy ascended while the Governor descended, both armed for anything that might follow and, on the arrival at the place, they made their salutes and sat at a distance of four covados from each other. Sevagy expressed his purpose in a few words and spoke as follows: "I know well, valorous captain, to what I expose myself should my confidence be abused, I wanted that there should therefore be between us two a memorandum, I mean that both of us will profit, you will be rich and I secure. We all work in this world to free ourselves from poverty and even nature persuades all to be secure from it. I solicit what nature urges and men want and I may say well that I wish the good of us both. You know already what I have undertaken and also what I have accomplished and because fortune favours me I must continue it for in my heart there is no desire to turn back. I have to achieve a great name or to lose my life. For this misfortune [24] there is no lack of occasions and I cannot secure that good luck without your favour. I assure you that I know how to deserve this favour. I shall give you money with which you may spend in happiness the rest of your life which I shall protect with the affection of my heart that you may always live without fear having none to be afraid of." Sevagy would have said more but the Governor interrupted him with the following words. "I do not understand, Sir, what you mean. I shall tell you more so that I may get your answer and know moreover in what I shall have to serve you as it should not be anything that may injure my credit for you know to honourable men reputation means more than food." "In this way," said Sevagy, "you mean to say that I do not possess a good name." "I do not mean to say so"—replied the Governor, "for I spoke only about myself. You have already achieved the greatest reputation and so great it is that the mere mention of your name in these parts lead people to think that you are present. Such is the respect you enjoy that the sound of your name is sufficient to frighten the whole of this kingdom [25] but try to explain yourself for the sun is quickly going to sleep at his accustomed place and I don't know if we can, without a memorandum, finish another day what we shall not conclude here." "I am satisfied," said Sevagy ; " you know Sir that I have already got by my victories a convenient retreat where I can keep my treasures with tolerable security. But on the examination and consideration of the mountain site of this mountain I realise that everything will be more secure here than in any other place. This was the business that I did not like to confide in a letter. It should be confined between us without anybody knowing our secret." The Governor was surprised or pretended to be so, at this answer and replied that he had well understood Sevagy's intention but he never believed that he could propose face to face the sale of the King's fortress involving the breach of the allegiance which he owed and which he had promised to the King. Sevagy laughed at this moment and observed that none need keep faith with him who did not keep faith with his natural sovereign, the Emperor of Brisnaga against whom Visapur, Golconda and others had rebelled and not contented with that carried their arms against him till he was totally ruined, as you know quite well. I declared that my principal task was to avenge this injury and may God favour me in all my intentions. For my friend Fortune helps him who has more power, as none of these bought their crown with money nor was it left to them by their ancestors. Each one works for himself as did they too and everything else is (due to) ignorance. The Governor yielded to these and other arguments and much less sufficed for an ambitious heart to overthrow reason. The price and the security of the Governor were then discussed. His security was provided for in the same hill and nothing could please him more, the price was two hundred thousand rupias, in those days equivalent to two hundred thousand crusados and is now equal to three hundred thousand crusados for the value of each rupia is worth two pasrdos and each pasrdo is worth three hundred reis. There still remained to be won the goodwill of some other officers, but as all the soldiers were gentios and Sevagy sent immediately the shrewdest of his soldiers there, everything was easily concluded with the help of the Governor. The Governor was paid and many others were remunerated and almost all remained in the service of Sevagy who ascended to take possession of the fortress. Though he was there, and though he had it well garrisoned, he could not quite believe that the fortress was his. The extensive territories subject to this fortress immediately acknowledged his sovereignty (obeyed him) and he at once ordered all his treasures, scattered in many places, and all that he possessed to be brought to the famous and impregnable fortress of Rayaguer.

SURENDRANATH SEN

A CHINESE MINISTER'S ADDRESS[1]

I come to you this evening as an ex-foreign student in the United States. I spent in this country four years in high school and three years in undergraduate and one year in post-graduate work in the university. These were eight happy years, full of pleasant memories. I always recall them with the greatest pleasure. I hope that your stay in this country will be as pleasant and profitable as mine. The ties of friendship made during my school days have continued ever since.

The first impression which foreign students get on arriving in this country when they have to go through the Immigration and Customs examinations may not be as pleasant as we all desire, but once admitted into the country the general experience of foreign students is that they find practically everywhere an open door and equal opportunity.

When a stranger comes to the United States he cannot but be struck with the general appearance of wealth and prosperity in the country. This prosperity is due undoubtedly for the most part to the scientific development of the natural resources of the country to the genius of the American people for organizing, administering and operating the various lines of activity and industry in which they engage themselves. As he stays longer in the country and looks more into the life of the people his admiration for the greatness of the country increases after he has seen the large number of educational institutions, hospitals and other institutions for the advancement of public social welfare, which spend millions of dollars a year and which are nearly all privately endowed. I think herein lies the secret of America's greatness. In other words, the leaders of American enterprises, who through their genius for organization or leadership have been able, after decades of work, to make large fortunes, devote a large part of their fortunes to the public good. As far as I know, in no other country in the world do men make use of the rewards of their toil for the good of mankind to the same extent as in this country. One is bewildered when he sees the large number of privately endowed colleges and universities in practically every state in the Union. Many of the universities spend every year for their educational work a sum larger than many countries spend for the public education of the whole country. It is incredible until one has examined for himself a university budget.

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[1] Address by the Hon'ble Dr. Sao-ke Alfred Sze before the foreign students of the University of Pennsylvania at the banquet in Philadelphia, February 24, 1927, held under the auspices of the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce.

The primary object of a foreign student coming here is to study and learn all he can while here and to adapt what he learns to the needs of his own country when he returns home. But in going to a university we must regard studying as the primary but not the sole purpose. One should, while having the privileges of spending a few years here, go out and mingle with the American students and people. One should also watch how the American boys spend their leisure hours, and observe how the American people do their work, do their business, and how they amuse themselves, etc.

When I was here as a student the number of foreign students in American universities was comparatively small. Such organizations as the Cosmopolitan Club were still unknown. You have now in many respects greater opportunities to meet and to get acquainted with the American people. It is indeed a great privilege to have an opportunity afforded by a gathering like the gathering of this evening for meeting the leading business men of the great City of Philadelphia. One cannot realize fully the benefits that foreign students may receive from such gatherings. They help students to form true impressions of the country and people of America, and furthermore they make students feel at home and happy in the knowledge that there are people who take a healthy interest in them. On behalf of the Chinese students, I express hearty thanks to the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce, our hosts of this evening, for their kind hospitality and for the privilege thus afforded of making their acquaintance. Their kind interest in the foreign students is greatly appreciated.

If I may be permitted, I like to suggest that organizations like the Chamber of Commerce help foreign students as some of them are already doing, to get practical training in factories, business organizations,—that is to say, to supplement the theoretical college education by practical experience. I know from my own experience it was always a problem as to how to spend profitably the four long months of the summer vacation. If work can be found for students so as to enable them to get an insight into the practical side of life during the summer it will help them to a better understanding and better appreciation of the academic studies of the following college year.

The Chambers of Commerce can help with the co-operation of college professors by securing for students such practical training during the summer, first by listing such companies or manufacturers as are willing to take in foreign students, while the Labour Department, as far as I know, is not unfavourably disposed toward students getting practical experience. I venture to suggest that officials of the Labour Department should be very liberal in allowing students to get the necessary practical training, especially in the case of technical students who without the practical training will not be of very great use either to themselves or to their country when they return home. I know some of the students who have returned home immediately after finishing their college course. People at home are so surprised that they know so little after years of college work here. The real trouble is not the fault of the universities but the lack of the necessary practical training. I have had complaints made to me by railroad managers in China that students from America with learned degrees and full of the theory of heat and steam expansion, etc., are not able in some respects to do the works in the shops with the same degree of efficiency as some of the workmen who have never had the advantage of studying abroad. Of course, these complaints are now becoming fewer and fewer every year, but there is still room for improvement.

Before I conclude, I wish to say a few words to the foreign students here. I.wish them to have the benefit of the advice from one who has gone through the mill himself in making observations and drawing conclusious about America and the American people.

First of all one must be tolerant of what one sees and hears in a foreign country. There may be things which one does not approve or fully understand. I find one of the most helpful thing to do is to ask yourselves what you would do if you were similarly placed. Remember always the old adage that nobody is perfect. In spite of all the advancement in science and civilization this old adage is none the less true.

The next thing you should do is to avoid generalizations based on what you see in the few instances that have come to your notice. Generalizations are never fair. In every class of people or in every community there are always individuals who unfortunately do not measure up to the standard and that a good many of these individuals lag behind is due to causes not of their own making or to causes that are unavoidable. So, besides being tolerant, one must be charitable.

Another thing you should do is to read the signs correctly. Once I met a foreigner who had spent a fortnight in New York, and I asked him about his impressions. He said one of the wonders to him was how there could be so many people left in the country after he had read almost every day stories of murders, hold-ups, and automobile accidents. Obviously many things we see are misleading.

Finally, you students must bear in mind that many of the people with whom you come into contact will judge your people by your own actions. It is, therefore, incumbent upon you so to bear yourselves that you will worthily represent to America your own countries. You should act as interpreters of your own people to the Americans and of Americans to your people. Herein lies a great opportunity that you may render service both to your own country and to the country that keeps the door of the colleges and universities open for you, by cultivating a better understanding and a better appreciation of each other's civilization and culture. There is plenty of room in the world for work of this nature. The people of the world have been too much misled and poisoned by malicious and false propaganda. It is the duty of students who have the opportunity of studying abroad to combat and eventually extinguish such malicious propaganda and to work for mutual respect and good will.

I have been asked if I would not say something this evening with reference to the *proposals* made to China and the reason why China hesitates to accept them.

With the time at my disposal, it is not possible to go at length into an examination of the *proposals* or any serious discussion of the reasons why China has found them not satisfactory.

In the first place, let me say that the Chinese welcome the *proposals*, especially the conciliatory tone in which they are formulated. But, when we examine them closely it is apparent that they do not meet the Chinese aspirations to an extent that would warrant great enthusiasm.

Let me give you an illustration; in your university, as in other universities of this country, all Sophomores regard themselves as guardians and monitors of the Freshman class. They take upon themselves the task of seeing to it that every Freshman begins his college career in the right direction. They make rules, ordering every Freshman what he should do and what he should not do. Suppose a Sophomore compels a

Freshman to do something which is beyond the generally accepted principles governing the relationship between the two classes. What would be the sentiments of the student body? Suppose the Freshman objects to the unjust order of the Sophomore and refuses to obey it, and then a fight follows. Let us suppose that the Sophomore, being older and physically stronger, succeeds in winning the fight. While he has the Freshman down in the scuffle, he takes away from him his gold watch and chain, his fountain pen, two pencils, a pocket knife, and a bunch of keys. The Freshman naturally resents the rough handling by the Sophomore, particularly when he is deprived of some of his possessions. He appeals to the Sophomore class for redress. As a response, he is told that his complaint is just and he should have his valuables back. However, these verbal assurances are not followed by the actual return. Months and years pass; the Sophomore becomes a Senior, and the Freshman, now a Junior, thus says to his former conqueror: "Now we are all upper class men; would you not now, as you have long promised, restore to me all my possessions?" The Senior then proclaims his readiness to negotiate for the return of the two pencils, the pocket knife, and the bunch of keys, and says: "I am now offering to return to you more than half of the things I took away from you. Is not this generous on my part, meeting you more than halfway? This I am doing to safeguard the good name and reputation of my class and university." He adds: "Be reasonable, how can you expect me to return the watch and chain and the fountain pen? I am so used to have them now. With the watch, I am able to keep my appointments and to go to classes punctually; with the pen I have to take notes of my lectures; if you want them all back, what shall I do? I shall not be able to continue my class work efficiently and may even fail to graduate. So, be reasonable."

Gentlemen, this is more or less the situation. I do not say that the parallel is absolutely exact in all respects. It, however, gives a fair picture of the *proposals* offered to China and the reason why China hesitates to accept the *seemingly* generous offers. It is generally agreed that in view of the fact that the Powers have repeatedly failed to honour their promises and pledges to China in the past, their sweet words do not now have the attraction and effect that they used to have.

SAO-KE ALFRED SZE

SOME ASPECTS OF COMPETITION IN RAILWAY SERVICE

A survey of the railway map of India will disclose the fact that most of the sections are served by a single line, and will induce the belief that the conditions obtaining in this country afford no scope for the free play of competitive forces. A man familiar with the traffic conditions here and the inadequacy of the railway facilities, will go further and declare that not only is there no competition, but that the railways can dictate their terms to the public, and are prevented from going too far by Government interference. Assertions containing partial truths like these may be multiplied, but those just mentioned suffice to indicate how people not trained in the technical aspects of the subject proceed forthwith to generalise from them, and how the conflict between expert and popular opinion consequently arises. Further, the railway itself is fundamentally different from ordinary business undertakings, and it possesses features which, unless differentiated, lead to misconception and errors. In this paper one distinct problem of Railway Economics is isolated and dealt with from a strictly economic point of view, and attention is mainly directed to finding out how competitive forces operate among railways in general, and in India in particular.

"Competition," observes Walker, "signifies the operation of individual self-interest among buyers and sellers of any article in any market. It implies that each man is acting for himself solely, by himself solely, in exchange to get the most he can from others and to give the least he must himself."[1] The strict meaning of competition, according to the late Dr. Alfred Marshall, is "the racing of one person against another with special reference to bidding for sale or purchase of anything."[1] These two definitions make it clear that competition involves a contest, a struggle between individuals to secure a greater share or benefit in any transactions among them. As man's distinctive character is not merely to economise, but to produce as well, wealth, the first requisite of securing an additional share or benefit is to produce more. Human economics concerns itself with the disposing of an increased product to the whole body of consumers and the victory goes to those who create better and cheaper products. The surest way of doing this is by underselling one's competitor. Competition thus emerges as a business principle as a struggle to augment wealth through a lowering of cost, and acts as the very secret of progress and life of trade.

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[1] Francis A. Walker: *Political Economy*, Macmillan, Third Edition, pp. 91-92.

All our education and habit of mind, says Hadley,[2] make us believe in competition and to regard it as a natural condition of healthy business. The theory of Ricardo that during a regime of unfettered competition the value of different commodities tend to be proportional to their costs of production and that, therefore, competition acts as the natural regulator of prices, is accepted almost without reserve. On a closer examination, the theory will be found to ignore the fact that under modern business conditions competition often involves a worse loss to stop producing than to produce below cost. Nowhere is this fundamental limitation on the Ricardian theory better illustrated than in the railway business.

Competition among railways may be defined as anything that compels the carrier to secure an increased traffic. Most kinds of traffic are attracted in either of two ways: by a reduction in charges or by an improvement in the service rendered. Considered from the point of view of theory, these two kinds of competition are the same inasmuch as the carrier in each case parts with more than what he gets and the purchaser of the service receives more for what he pays. But in practice they act differently, and what effects they produce will be evident in the course of our survey.

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[1] Alfred Marshall : *Principles of Economics.* Macmillan, 1922, p. 5.

[2] Hadley : *Railroad Transportation*, Ch. IV.

The history of railroad transportation reveals the operation of competition as taking place under three forms: (*i*) Inter-railway; (*ii*) Inter-regional or Market; and (*iii*) Water competition.

Under each of these three conditions, competitive forces work differently and produce economic effects varying in importance. What these are we proceed to consider in the order in which they are stated.

Inter-railway competition occurs mostly in places served by two or more roads, and represents the effort of rival companies to secure traffic that has the option of moving through either of them. This usually happens in cities or junctions known as "competitive points," where the several carriers that meet there may bid more or less keenly for the same traffic. Such competitive points are not often to be met with, and the great majority of cities and localities are served only by single roads. Inter-railway competition, therefore, is of comparatively limited scope, and does not affect the business of the great majority of places. Agreements made to escape the effects of this kind of competition have protected hardly more than a minor share of the total traffic of the railroads making them. If competitive struggles affecting railway charges were only those confined to junction points, the greater portion of the railway business would be non-competitive. Inter-railway competition, in short, as Emory R. Johnson puts it, is only one of the safeguards of the public against high charges.

The Indian railroad history after 1880 offers a good many instances of interline competition.[2] From the year 1881, on the through opening of the Rajputana State Railway, a

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[1] *American Railway Transportation*, 1910, pp. 258-71.

[2] For a discussion, in detail, of these instances refer to S. C. Ghose : *Indian Railway Problems*, 1924, pp. 116-123.

direct communication was established between Delhi or Agra and Bombay. Competition immediately commenced between the B. B. & C. I. and the Rajputana State Railways on the one hand and the G. I. P. and the E. I. Railways on the other, for traffic between Bombay and the Upper India in one case and for the traffic for the ports of Bombay and Calcutta from Delhi and Agra centres in the other case. The competition considerably brought down the goods rate and improved the service, especially in the competitive zones, and for traffic to, and from beyond, the seas. The rate for grain, for example, from Delhi to Bombay which was 11 annas per maund in 1887, and still higher in 1881, was reduced to 7·5 annas per maund.[1] More recent instances of the same phenomenon are: the G. I. P. Railway attracting traffic in grain and seeds from the Central Provinces to Bombay in competition with the B. N. Railway to Calcutta; the competition for traffic from the United Provinces seeking an outlet to Europe between the E. I. Railway attracting it to Calcutta, and the R. M. and the B. B. & C. I. Railways to Bombay; and that between the B. B. & C. I. and the G. I. P. Railways, and the East Indian Railway, for traffic from Delhi, Agra and Cawnpore, the former attracting and diverting it to Bombay *viâ* Ahmedabad, and the latter *viâ* Jubbulpore.

Unlike competition in the commercial world, inter-railway competition has become less instead of more powerful; because, as Johnson and Huebner point out, as time goes on "it is more largely regulated by the consolidation of competing lines, or by traffic associations, community-of-interest arrangements, and informal mutual understandings."[2] It is precisely through these methods that rival railroad companies seek to substitute co-operation for unfettered competition. Despite these important limitations, interline competition is a factor of no small influence. Railway systems, in spite of these co-operative arrangements, contest as keenly to hold traffic against each other, and to insist on such an adjustment of rates as will affect what the several competitors may deem to be a fair distribution of tonnage. Interline competition, in modern times, is restricted to a rivalry in service rather than on the basis of secret rates, and this fact has so regulated the struggle as to prevent the occurrence of rate wars. Nevertheless, the competition may be one that only stops short of open war, and that may be as keen and effective as regards charges on commodities and the general level of rates. Looked at from the point of view of the public, interline competition may not be an effective regulator of rates; indeed, under certain conditions it may lead to arbitrary discriminations and invite correction by Government authority; but that does not prove the absence or impotency of competition among railways to secure traffic free to move by more than one route.

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[1] Rai Saheb Chandrika Prasad Tewari: *Indian Railways*, 1921, p. 461.

[2] *Railway Rates and Fares*, Vol. I.

Coming now to what is variously termed as "competition among markets" or, inter-regional or industrial competition, we find that this form of competition exerts a more powerful influence on rates than inter-railway competition. In fact, this factor counts most with the officer in charge of the general freights while determining the rates which the traffic will bear.

By competition of the markets is meant "the competition in the same markets of producers in different sections of the country and different parts of the world."[1] Market competition is essentially an inevitable concomitant of modern industrial conditions. The marvellous inventions and improvements that have been taking place during and since the Industrial Revolution have brought about the equally remarkable phenomenon of large-scale production. This would not have been rendered possible but for the gradual widening of the markets that are fed by this large-scale production. The fundamental postulate underlying the significant expansion of the markets is cheap and efficient transportation. But for the cheap and all-ramifying network of transportation facilities, the large-scale production, the elaborate division of labour, in fact all the chief characteristics of the modern industrial age would not have come to existence.[1]

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[1] Emory R. Johnson; *American Railroad Transportation.*

One of the important results that followed these developments in transportation through the creation of the railroad and the steamship, is that practically every producer has the world for his market and commodities of different regions and sections compete in the same centres of distribution.

Bearing in mind this aspect of the economics of modern production if attention is directed to another factor, that the railway is only another, one of the many links of the successive processes of production, the significance of the inter-regional competition would be readily perceived. Every railway, for that matter, every carrier, is the joint producer with the farmer, the manufacturer, the miner, the lumberman, of the section served by the railroad. The carrier possesses a common interest with the producers in his area to get their commodities into the world's markets, and that at a cost that will permit them to compete successfully with those from other regions and to be sold in large quantities.

It is important to remember that industrial competition is quite independent of the interline relations of the railways. The inter-regional contest goes on whether or not carriers act singly or in association or in consolidated territorial groups. For, as Professor Johnson tells us: "The struggle is international and inter-regional within a single country; it is the struggle which causes and accompanies the territorial division of production."

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[1] As Adam Smith remarked in 1776, the production of goods is limited by the extent of the market. The village cobbler turned out no more shoes than he could dispose of within the economic area that he could reach. The modern shoe factory with its elaborate machinery and highly developed division of labour produces thousands of pairs of shoes daily. These shoes can find their purchasers only in a large population reached from a central source of supply. Many other illustrations of a similar sort will suggest themselves to the reader, indicating how production of goods has been pushed farther and farther with the extension of the market consequent on cheapened transportation. For a more detailed consideration of this aspect, see F. W. Taussig : *Principles of Economics*, Vol. I, Ch. IV.

A railroad is not free from the influence of market competition even in its own territory. It is compelled to put forth strenuous efforts to hold on its own traffic from the effect of market competition.[1]

Instances of industrial competition may be found in the Bengal coal that competes with the Natal one at Bombay ; the rice from Bengal and Burma in Madras ; in the Alabama iron that competes with that from Michigan and Pennsylvania in American trade.

We now pass on to the last class of competition which comes from a different carrier altogether, namely, water competition. The charges made by a railway company on the traffic into and out of its territory, and the system of rates that has developed in that section are largely governed by the competitive rates and services offered by the coastwise vessels. It has to be specially noticed that water competition not only controls specific railway charges but also exerts a great influence on the general systems of ratemaking, prevailing in different parts of the country.

The effects of water competition have been felt by the railways in India. The Behar, the Bengal and the Assam Railways had to face the competition of boats and steamers plying on the inland rivers. The B.B. & C.I. Railway had to contest for its traffic with the sea-going vessels running along the Guzerat coast. Further south, the G. I. P. Railway and the steamer service vied with each other in their efforts to attract the traffic between Bombay and the Southern Mahratta country. Passing on to the east coast, the B. N. Railway and the M.S.M. Railway had to lower their rates to persuade traffic to go by rail for which steamers were available ; the South Indian Railway had also to struggle against severe competition.[1] The competition of cheap river transport by the Ganges and the E. I. Railway which runs alongside that river has caused the latter to reduce its charges which in some cases led to a corresponding reduction by the G. I. P. Railway.[2]

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[1] Compare the evidence of B. H. Griswold before the Industrial Commission, United States, Vol. XIX. He says :

"I think that competition between railroads is merely percentage competition. There was a time when competition between two railroads or between two sections was due to the fact that there were two railroads. But in my experience in our own local territory where we have no other railroads, we feel competition, the influence of markets, inducements in the way of facilities, and prices at various points, and we have to meet competition of markets, if we are to do business on the line, as much as we do the competition of other railroads."

Large shipping companies exercise a great influence on the railways serving the ports ; for a line of steamers naturally wants goods conveyed to it as cheaply as possible, and can offer a railway serving its port important help in attracting traffic to that port.

L. A. NATESAN

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[1] S. C. Ghose : *A Paper on Railway Economics.*

[2] The extent of the influence of coastwise or seaborne traffic on railways has been much more than is generally suspected. In many cases it has affected considerably the railway rates, one of the consequences of which has thus been pointed out by the Indian Industrial Commission : "Many inequalities have arisen between goods for export or imported articles on the one hand and goods for internal use or locally manufactured articles on the other, in areas where railways compete with one another or with water transport; speaking generally, favourable rates for raw produce moving to the ports have resulted......the history of rate fixation reveals a desire to divert traffic from one Indian port to another, rather than a careful examination of the effect which the rate imposed would have on the total cost of conveying the goods to their port of foreign destination, and therefore on their ability to compete with products from rival sources......the point which we desire to make is that there has been a tendency to think of attracting traffic to a particular railway rather than to consider whether a real necessity exists for reduction in the general interests of the country. Indeed it is possible that a moderate increase would not materially affect the quantities coming forward. As an example of an undue reduction of the rates on exports, we quote the case of hides. Their production cannot be affected by railway rates, though their disposal may be; and the grant of port rates nearly 50 per cent. less than the internal rates has certainly discouraged Indian tanning, and aided certain foreign industrialists to obtain a hold on a class of raw material of which India possesses a partial monopoly.

The fixation of railway rates on imports has followed much the same lines as those which we have discussed in the case of exports." One of the immediate causes for low port rates in India has been, therefore, the competition between rival railway systems, which led them to look from an unduly individualistic point of view. *Report on the Indian Industrial Commission*, pp. 205-6.

A PAGE FROM OLD BENGALI LITERATURE

In nothing is a country's cultural progress indicated more than in her past literature. Fortunately, Bengal is rich in old literature which tells much of her past history. In it even a slight reference to an ordinary matter speaks more than voluminous writings of historians often do. Thus not a little light is thrown by the poet Jadu Nandan Das (16th century) on the condition of female costumes and ornaments mainly of the Hindu period, in incidentally describing, in Bengali verse, the toilet of Rādhā, in his translation of Krishnadas Kaviraja's Sanskrit work, *Govinda Lilāmrita.*

The following is a poor rendering of some of the poet's exquisite lines from the above work :

" *The Toilet of Rādhā.*"

The maid Lalitā engaged herself in dressing the hair of Rādhā with a comb set with gems. She dried with resins her mistress's hair which was wet after a bath. The hair was of the finest quality, soft and curly. It always remained sweet-scented through the use of "*Aguru*" (*Aqularia Agolacha*). She further enhanced it by using various scents.

Lalitā next braided the hair and attached a bright stone to its tip, making it resemble a serpent with a lustrous gem on its hood. On it were placed two garlands, one of *Bakul* flower and the other of pearls. Thus the three (namely, the braid, the flower-garland and the pearl-garland) might fitly be compared to the "*Tribeni.*"[1] All the three were intertwined with a silk-tape and tied at the back of the neck with a piece of gold thread.

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[1] The confluence of the three rivers, namely, the Ganges, the Jamuna and the Saraswati.

Rādhā then wore a thin red cloth as an underwear over which she put on a blue sāḍi. The name of this fine sāḍi was *Meghāmbar* (literally, the cloth having the colour of the cloud) and it resembled the black bee, in colour. The style, in which she put it on, would elicit praise from everybody. The tuck of her cloth was really unparalleled. Its upper part was tied with a gold thread which was again covered with a deep red silk-tape. Around her loins she wore a net-like gold ornament inlaid with precious gems. It enhanced the beauty of the wearer beyond comparison.

Now the work of Lalitā was over and the maid Bisākhā stepped in. The latter made a paste of sandal, camphor and *aguru* of Kashmir and rubbed it on the beautiful person of Rādhā. The gentle maid painted musk-pictures on the sides of her thigh with great care. After this she occupied herself with the leaf-painting on the forehead of her lady with the help of musk and put a nice vermilion mark just below this. Under this she put a sandal-mark in the centre of which she again put a dot of musk. She also did not forget to paint the hair-parting on the head with vermilion, the redness of which had exquisite effect amidst the luxuriant dark hair of Rādhā.

Next came the turn of the maid Chitrā. She painted a fine picture on the breast of Rādhā. It was that of *Madan-Vasma.*[1] The following was the picture :

Above—the crescent moon rose in heaven, and below—a tuft of flowers with newly sprouted leaves exhibited the beauty of the early spring. One would not miss there a charming lake full of lotuses and fish. Lastly, there was the bow and arrows of the Love-god with which he kept himself alert to aim at his mark.

Rādhā put on her breast a purple corset which was studded with pearls. The red rubies decorated the two nipples of her breast. The colour of the rubies would remind one of the evening which becomes red without being dark due to certain physical phenomenon.

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[1] Burning of the god of Love Madan when he tried to disturb the meditation of the great God Çiva.

The person of Rādhā was decorated with ornaments of much beauty. Firstly, a pair of palm-leaf-like gold-ring, with a sapphire resembling a blue flower on each of them, was put on her ears. This ornament (Tāḍanka) was so fine that it might have been mistaken for a lotus, by the black bees. On the upper part of the ears the golden ornament " Chakri " shone brightly. This ornament had pins all around which dazzled like pencils of light. Its beauty was unparalleled, the more so, as the pearls surrounded the azure gem at the centre, above which there was a diamond of much brilliancy. Krishna liked the ornament very much and so Rādhā wore it.

Then Bisākhā dotted the cheeks of Rādhā with musk. Its beauty would remind one of bees on a lotus of gold. The " Beshara " or nose-ornament was made of gold and a big pearl was attached to it which displayed its worth just on the tip of her nose. As the " Neal " fruit with stalk would seem beautiful in the beak of the bird Śuka so did the nose-ornament of Rādhā.

Rādhā's big eyes were painted with collyrium. What should be said of its beauty! It seemed the bird " Chakora "[1] was waiting wistfully to drink the nectar out of the moon—the moon-like face of Srikrishna—Radha's lover. The golden necklace was then brought by Bisākhā to decorate the incomparable neck of Rādhā.

Her neck, which resembled that of a swan, was ever afraid of conches. Krishna's palm had the sign of a conch which is always regarded as very auspicious.

Krishna had the best claim to the sign of a conch as he was also the God Vishnu whose one hand bore the great conch. The poet says that perhaps in fear of Krishna's conch Rādhā's swan-like neck was covered with a necklace. The necklace was made of sapphires interspersed with diamonds and it was thick in the middle and pointed on one side. The thread used for the necklace was golden. There were tufts of pearls attached to it, one of which decorated the breast of Rādhā. The gay Rādhā then wore the "Goonjā" (*Abrus precatorious*) garland which was once presented to her by Krishna himself.

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[1] Rādhā's eyes.

The necklace named "Ekābali" which also Rādhā put on had a thread of gold. It had stars of much brilliancy which shone like stars in the firmament. The pendants made of "Indranil" gems (perhaps a kind of sapphire) and known as "Chatuska" were all connected with a chain. The silk-tape (used to bind the hair) decorated with precious stones, such as "Padmarāg" (perhaps a kind of ruby), hung at her back and brought into prominence the mass of black hair that Rādhā possessed.

Bisākhā brought the golden "Angada" for the arms. These were tied with black thread which was not of an ordinary type but was inset with valuable stones. Thus it brought into high relief the bright "Angada." In the two arms she wore bracelets containing blue gems. Their beauty was that of a red lotus over which the bees were constantly humming. The golden "Kankan" was mounted upon it. Above it pearls encircled the hands. The yellow colour of gold and the white colour of pearls looked like a combination of the sun and the moon.

The golden "Māduli" looked beautiful on the upper part of the arm. Then she wore a ring of precious stone on which was inscribed the "Vanquisher of the enemy." On her feet Rādhā wore "Kataka" which looked dazzling owing to the inset of bright jewels. After that she put on "Ratanmanjari."

On the fingers of the feet she wore "Ujjhatikā" of precious gems. Narmadā, the gardener's daughter, presented a blue lotus and a garland to Rādhā which Bisākhā handed over to the latter. The garland was beloved of Srikrishna. Finally, Sugandhā, the barber-girl, presented Rādhā with a mirror in which she saw her peerless beauty reflected to the admiration of all.

TAMONASH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

Reviews

Prakrita Vyakarana, in Guzarati, by Pandit Bechara Dasa Jibaraja Doshi, published by Guzrat Puratattwa Mandir, Ahmedâbad, 1925.

The work aims at a comparative grammar of Sanskrit, and the following Prakrit dialects:—Maharastri, Sauraseni, Magadhi, Paisachi, and Apabhramsa. The corresponding Pali forms are also given. The examples of Maharastri and other Prakrit dialects are derived by the author by applying the rules of Hemachandra's Prakrit Grammar. This method of writing grammar is not scientific. It is a well known fact that the examples of these dialects found in Prakrit literature and in the Plays do not often conform to the rules of Grammar. Pischel in his Prakrit Grammar of these dialects, has followed the scientific method, and has collected his examples from literature. This method, however, has not been followed by the author.

His identification of the Ardha Magadhi with the Maharastri dialect which he calls simply "Prakrit" and his denial of the presence of any element of the Magadhi dialect in it cannot be accepted. The Ardha Magadhi dialect differs in many respects from the Maharastri Prakrit. "The Jaina Siddhanta Kaumudi" by Ratna Chandra Swami, a Grammar of the Ardha Magadhi dialect, in its introduction contains a full analysis of the points of difference between the Ardha Magadhi and the Maharastri dialects. It is needless to repeat these to show the untenability of the author's view.

In page 236 of the work, while giving examples of Maharastri numerals according to the grammar of Hemchandra, the author mixes up the Ardha Magadhi numerals वेयाला, तेयाला, etc., which cannot be derived either from the grammar of Hemchandra or any other Prakrit Grammar.

The rules are sometimes incomplete.

In page 67 where the various changes of the letter त are given its change to द is not mentioned.

MURALYDHAR BANERJI

A Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary, with Transliteration, Accentuation and Etymological Analysis, by Professor A. A. Macdonell, M.A., Ph.D., Hon. LL.D., the Oxford University Press, Thirty Shillings.

It is a re-issue, corrected, of the well-known dictionary first issued by Messrs. Longmans Green & Co.

The book is intended to supply the vocabulary of the Post-Vedic literature in general, but it also includes such selections of Vedic texts, as are readily accessible to the student.

The valuable features of this work are the following: The senses of all words are given in the historical order of their development and it gives the etymology of words from Sanskrit elements. It is not a comparative dictionary but is historical and etymological in its character. It is not historical in the sense, in which a complete history of every word is given, illustrated by quotations, but is historical in the sense that the meanings are not given in an arbitrary order as in ordinary dictionaries, but the literary period to which a word and its meaning belong, is broadly indicated. It is etymological in the sense that most of the words have been broken up into their Sanskrit elements in the translation, by means of hyphens, as in 'Yag-ña' or by means of hooks where vowel coalescences occur as in 'Mṛiga-îkshaṇa' for 'Mrigekshaṇa.' Where these means are insufficient the derivation has been concisely given within brackets as in '(rūḍhi).' A third feature of the Dictionary is that it marks the accents of Vedic words.

Some idea of the usefulness of the work may be formed by comparing it with Professor Monier Williams' Sanskrit-English Dictionary. Prof. M. Williams' Dictionary contains 180,000 words and 1,333 pages at a price of 72 *s*. Prof. Macdonell's Dictionary contains about 43,000 words and 382 pages at a price of 30s. Prof. M. Williams has given quotations and references to particular books to illustrate every word and its meanings except in the first sixty pages. Prof. Macdonell's work gives neither quotation nor reference but only indicates the period of literature. In this respect the smaller and the cheaper dictionary of Apte is more useful.

For the paper, printing and general get-up of the work, it is superior to other one-volume dictionaries, though for this reason its price is a little higher.

MURALYDHAR BANERJEE

In the Temple of Truth, By M. Sri Ramamurti, M.A., Messrs. Goldquin & Co., College Street Market, Calcutta, 1926.

A book which comes to us with the imprimatur of Prof. Sheshadri of the Benares Hindu University is assured of a hearty welcome in advance. But one thing in that Foreword itself strikes us as strange. We should like to be informed by the Professor how far it might be right to persist in fixing the Knighthood to Rabindranath Tagore, to pin a doubtful distinction to an unwilling victim, to ignore his political gesture, by no means the least important event in the poet's life. As regards the book itself, the stamp of the East is definitely on it—The Pearl, The Only Cure, The Strange Smile are notable examples. The style of discourse is professedly emotional and epigrammatic, poetic and intellectual in its two distinct divisions. We have no hesitation in endorsing Prof. Sheshadri's opinion as given in the Foreword and recommending the book to all seekers after truth. The style is exceedingly simple, and what is more, is not bald. Both the printing and the paper are good. But is 'Copy Right' right? This last is for the publisher.

P. R. S.

Little Songs of the West. By Petronella O'Donnell, Folk Press Limited, Ranelagh Road, London.

A dainty book of verse containing more than two dozen lyrics of varying length, from 12 to 44 lines. The poems are beautiful in their haunting music, richness of colour and imaginative grace, but is there not an error of punctuation on page 12, line 2, in the poem, "The ship that sailed away"? Or, in the 5th line from the last on page 28, in the poem, "The bird at the top of the tree"? "Gulls," "Wind-swept," "the fiddler loon" are some of the words that have a tendency to recur, though always with undoubted propriety. Had it not been for trifles such as these, even the carping critic would have nothing to censure, but very much to admire. The poems are untouched by the squalor and the dirt of this work-a-day world; the Fairy Prince visits the poet—

> "In a common-place street—
> In a common-place town,
> Full of its goings up and down,
> We were fated to meet."

And the Spirit of romance is there, near the grey gulls, in a wind-swept, brine-swept town by the sea. Lines like

> " See sullen waves beat a disconsolate shore "

are a beauty in themselves. We would recommend specially " Things of the Night "—and " Twilight."

PRIYARANJAN SEN

Ourselves

NEW DOCTORS.

Our warm congratulations to Mr. Jogischandra Sinha, M.A., P.R.S., Reader and Head of the Department of Economics, Dacca University, whose thesis on "The Economic Annals of Bengal" has just been approved for the degree of Doctorate of Philosophy of this University by a Board of Examiners consisting of Sir William Foster, Professor Henry Dodwell and Dr. Gilbert Slater. Mr. Sinha is one of the most distinguished graduates of this University—First Class First in the B.A. Examination, First Class First in the M.A. Examination in Economics and Premchand Roychand Scholar for the year 1920. We had occasion to congratulate his distinguished brother Mr. Harischandra Sinha, M.Sc., Ph.D., last month on his obtaining the coveted degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Both the brothers belong to a gifted family of scholars and are nephews to our present Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Jadunath Sarkar.

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We also offer our warm congratulations to Mr. L. A. Ramdas, M.A., Assistant Meteorologist, Karachi, on his admission to the degree of Doctorate of Philosophy. Mr. Ramdas was formerly a Palit Research Scholar in this University and submitted a thesis on "The Scattering of Light by Liquid Surfaces and other Related Phenomena" which was examined by a Board of Examiners consisting of Lord Rayleigh, Professor C. Fobry and Professor C. G. Darwin. Mr. Ramdas is a son of Rao Bahadur L. K. Anantakrishna Iyer, one of our University Lecturers in the Department of Anthropology.

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RESULTS OF UNIVERSITY LAW EXAMINATIONS.

Preliminary.

The number of candidates registered for the Preliminary Examination in Law held in January, 1927, was 1,026, of whom 304 passed, 587 failed and 135 were absent. Of the successful candidates 5 were placed in the First Class.

Intermediate.

The number of candidates registered for the Intermediate Examination in Law was 820 of whom 373 passed, 345 failed, 2 were expelled and 100 were absent. Of the successful candidates 7 were placed in the First Class.

Final.

The number of candidates registered for the Final Examination in Law was 661 of whom 287 passed, 152 failed and 222 were absent. Of the successful candidates 35 were placed in the First Class.

* * *

DATES OF EXAMINATIONS.

The Final M.B. Examination will commence on the 6th of June and not on the 4th of May, 1927, as was announced in last issue of the *Review*. The Preliminary Examination in Law will be held on the 4th of July and the Intermediate and Final Examinations in Law will begin on the 11th of July and the 18th of July respectively. The M.A. and M.Sc. Examinations will commence on the 1st of August next.

* * *

THE ONAUTH NAUTH DEB RESEARCH PRIZE.

The Onauth Nauth Deb Research Prize for 1927 has been awarded to Mr. Hemkumar Basu, M.A., B.L., for his thesis on "Commerce in Risk."

* * *

A NEW MASTER OF LAW.

We are glad to announce that Mr. Rameshchandra Pal, M.A., B.L., Vakil, High Court, Calcutta, has just passed the M.L. Examination.

* * *

UNIVERSITY READERSHIP LECTURES.

Professor H. Lüders, Ph.D., of the University of Berlin, the eminent scholar and epigraphist, has been appointed a University Reader to deliver a course of six lectures on "Ancient Indian Epigraphy and Culture."

* * *

MR. JYOTISHCHANDRA GHOSH.

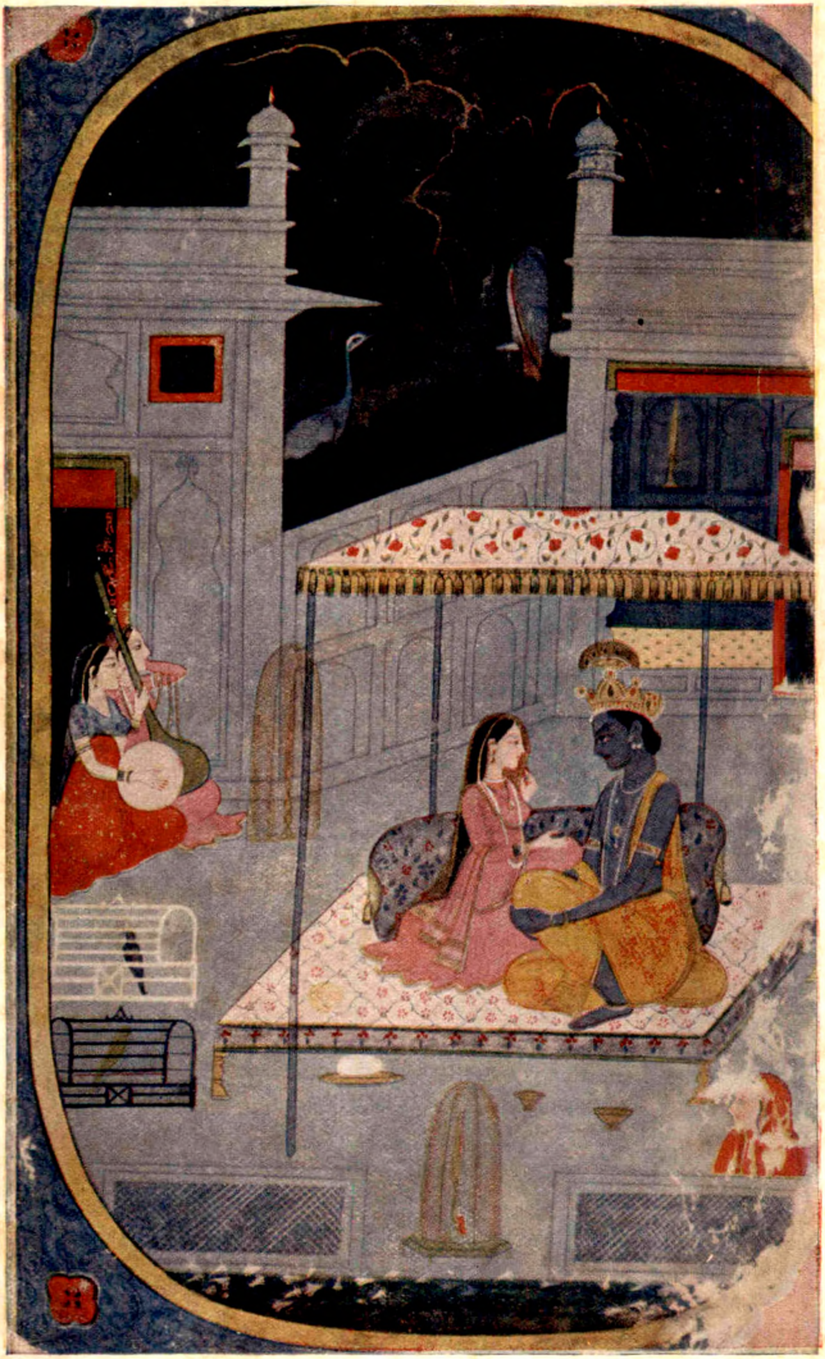
We come across the following passage in *The Year's Work in English Studies*, Volume V, 1924 (page 194), edited by F. S. Boas and C. H. Herford, about the work done by Mr. Jyotishchandra Ghosh, M.A., B.Litt., Lecturer, Calcutta University:

> With more emphasis on biographical matters Mr. J. C. Ghosh has retold briefly the story of the unfortunate Thomas Otway's life in a series of three articles contributed to *Notes and Queries* (December 13, 20 and 27). While not by any means all the matter presented in these articles is new, Mr. Ghosh has done a good work through his close investigation of statements made concerning the poet's life and death. By a series of

arguments he succeeds in showing that the latter must have left Oxford in 1671-2, rather than in 1674 (although his derivation of 'Senander' seems somewhat questionable), and that the poet did not go to Cambridge, as has been suggested by some writers. Probably Mr. Ghosh's two most important contributions are his discussion of Otway's relations with his fellow dramatists, Dryden, Shadwell and Settle, and with that degenerate wit, the Earl of Rochester, and his analysis of the conflicting accounts of his death. Of all the well-known Restoration poets Otway is the one whose life seems mistiest, and Mr. Ghosh is but preparing the way for a fuller and more exhaustive summary of the evidence and for a consequent reconstruction of events.

A CORRECTION.

This issue page 48, line 6, read *forth* instead of *fourth*.



RADHA AND KRISHNA [By Molaram

From the Art Collection of Mr. A. K. Ghosh

By courtesy of the Bangabani]

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

MAY, 1927

EDUCATIONAL REFORM [1]

I am deeply sensible of the honour you have done me by electing me to this office. When I remember that the first Annual Conference was presided over by so illustrious a teacher as Sir P. C. Roy, a unique example of old world simplicity and modern culture, I realise what a distinction it is to be called upon to preside over this important conference of College and University teachers. I thank you for your kindness.

It has not been possible for me, in the middle of term time to prepare anything worthy of a Presidential Address. Nor am I so thoroughly conversant with the problems that are facing us, as some other members of this Association are. As those who invited me knew my limitations, I am sure, they would not expect from me what I am obviously incompetent to give. I have put down a few scattered thoughts as an apology for an address.

Since the transfer of the subject of education in 1920 to provincial Ministers responsible to representative Legislative Councils, educational reform has been attracting increasing attention. Popular ministers who can now to some extent direct the policy of education are anxious to make education effective for national efficiency. It may therefore be useful if we direct our attention to the striking defects of the system rather than dilate on its well-known merits.

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[1] Presidential Address delivered at the Second Annual Conference of the All-Bengal College and University Teachers' Association on the 3rd of April, 1927.

Neglect of the National Ideal.

The educational policy of the Government has been restricted in aim and scope. While it has succeeded in training men into efficient but docile tools of an external authority, it has not helped them to become self-respecting citizens of a free nation. Love of one's native land is the basis of all progress. This principle is recognised in all countries. But in our unfortunate country it is the other way. A conquered race feels its heart sink. It loses hope, courage and confidence. Our political subjection carries with it the suggestion that we cannot consider ourselves the equals of free nations. Indian history is taught to impress on us the one lesson that "India has failed." The worst form of bondage is that of despair and dejection which creeps on defeated peoples breeding in them loss of faith in themselves. The aim of true education should be to keep alive the spark of national pride and self-respect, in the midst of circumstances that tend to undermine them. If we lose our wealth and resources, we may recover them to-morrow, if not to-day ; but if we lose our national consciousness there is no hope for us. The dead cannot be raised but the poor can.

The difficulty of developing the idea of nationhood in the vast population of India, including as it does a multitude of diverse races, castes and creeds, is great but it is not impossible. It has not been tried. The American schools are highly successful in Americanising the heterogeneous European elements that flock into the United States year after year. There is no reason why we should not succeed in this task, if our schools and colleges focus the emotions of our youth on the national ideal, if they imbue our young men with a fixed determination to be content with nothing less than control over their own destinies and a burning passion to remove the conditions which prevent the realisation of this ideal. They must sternly silence all sectional tendencies and foster opportunities for developing the sense of unity and feeling that we are all parts of a whole destined to swim or sink together. When we are all voyaging in one vessel, we cannot hope to keep afloat or win through to port, if there be mutiny aboard or if one man's hand is turned against another's. Communal warfare is another name for national suicide.

Small Proportion of Literacy.

Communal conflicts are possible, simply because our education has not been a success judged either by quantity or by quality. The proportion of the population which is literate is inconsiderable. Our masses bear on their faces marks of physical and mental degradation arising from economic distress and lack of education. They have lost their grip on life and are mostly dispirited and sentimental. In their drab lives, any excitement is welcome. The ease with which the passions of our people are moved almost at will by interested manipulators is a sad commentary on the neglect of popular education. A trained mind is the only security against sensation and excitement.

Impatience with the Past.

The quality of education imparted in our schools and colleges has suffered from a serious handicap. Impatience with the past of India has been the dominant note of our courses of study. Indian thought does not form an integral part of the scheme of general culture. Poorly paid Pandits devote two or three hours a week to it and critical methods are not used in its study. The methods of historical analysis and critical evaluation are applied everywhere else than in Indian thought to which an attitude of hazy emotional reverence is adopted. We live in two worlds, a world of habits which are outworn and a world of ideas which are ineffective. The old and the new are jumbled together in our minds without any order or unity. We repeat ancient texts in answer to modern problems. The living faith of the dead has become the dead faith of the living. If educated India is still safe for stupidity and superstition, it is the direct result of the divorce of science and criticism from religion and life. It is no wonder that our culture has not been able to protect us from the newspapers which are specialising in flinging falsehoods at us and the politicians who persuade us to love and hate our neighbours for the sake of their personal ambitions. In times of communal disturbance, even the cultured co-operate with the crowds.

Reverence for the past is one of the essential ingredients of nationalism. It is impossible for India to give up its past and get assimilated to a foreign tradition. We cannot borrow souls as we barter goods. The past of India is the sure foundation on which new ideas can be acquired. While we should expose ourselves to all the winds that blow, we should not be blown off our feet. The great ages of renaissance in history were those when men discovered the seeds of progress in the granary of the past. A critical investigation of our social and spiritual foundations will convert blind fanaticism into discriminating insight. We shall then learn to put first things first and not use the great terms of religion for the little details of ceremonial.

The mere existence of different faiths need not menace a nation's life. History tells us that national and political unity is quite consistent with fervent devotion to distinctive forms of faith. All that is necessary is a new attitude and outlook on life.

Cultural Inefficiency.

While it is true that our Universities have contributed a good deal to the public life, social service and the learned professions, it cannot be said that they have influenced much the literature and philosophy of the world, its art and science. We are to-day glorying in the great past of our country as if it were a compensation for the bitter present. As a rule our literature is puerile, our art thin and affected, our science secondhand and shallow and our philosophy—it does not exist. The notable achievements of Tagore and Bose, Roy and Raman are exceptions which prove the rule. The responsibility for this sad situation is the inefficiency of the culture imparted in our colleges. After four years of college life—which should be the most stimulating intellectual experience—most of our students go out into the world with their curiosity unkindled and their imagination untouched. Our colleges do not encourage a free mental life and intellectual adventure. University education is a business proposition but does not lift us to new levels of thought and touch the mind to new adventure. Rigidity of mind and inaptitude to take up new ideas are dangers which we must try to overcome if we are not to fall behind in the rivalry of nations. It is very essential that we should give up intellectual timidity and fear of thinking.

Indifference to Science.

The difference between the mediæval and the modern outlook is largely due to the spirit of science. It is popularly assumed that scientific studies in India are of the nature of an exotic. Though it may appear that the conquest of the physical environment was rather remote from the main interests of life in India where the most vigorous thought of each generation was devoted to the pursuit of speculative problems, there are facts to show that science was not neglected in the vigorous days of India. India was not backward in mathematics and astronomy, chemistry and medicine and the branches of physical knowledge practised in ancient times. The scientific achievements came to a halt somewhere about the thirteenth century. In recent years we have recovered much lost ground, thanks to the workers of the University College of Science among others. May I, in this connection, offer our felicitations to Dr. Meghnad Saha who has been recommended by the President and the Executive Council of the Royal Society for admission to its Fellowship. That the Royal Society should have bestowed its highest award on Indian scientists means that in the making of new scientific knowledge the work of our men is deemed worthy of respect even by critics who are not ordinarily prone to enthusiasm for Indian talent. While much of the work that is being done in our University is of a high order, the general level is low and the State support for scientific studies is by no means generous.

Unpractical Character.

It is notorious that our educational institutions are not adapted to our practical needs. India is recognised as one of the foremost industrial countries of the world and yet the economic distress of her middle classes is appalling. We have splendid natural resources, man-power, enough and to spare, and industrial traditions, but our educational system does not make them meet. Our colleges train young men for the two chief industries of the land,—law and public service. There is a loud and wide demand for practical and vocational education. It is really a demand for employment and has to be met not so much by the starting of technological institutions as by the rise of industries. We cannot create industries by training men to practise them. It is an everyday experience in our country that graduates of science and commerce apply for clerks' posts in Government offices. In a country like ours, it is the duty of the Government to build workshops and keep them supplied with well-educated and trained men. It must subsidise all industries which are unable of themselves to gain a foothold in the open market. Huge efforts are necessary if our industrial fortunes are not to suffer an eternal eclipse. If it is true that our middle classes are wanting in mechanical aptitude, industrial capacity or commercial instinct, a University cannot create them by the starting of technological courses. Early school training must help us. I think the new Matriculation regulations may bring about a desirable change. By insisting on manual training and giving a vocational bias, they may help the large body of students whose means and capacities do not allow them to go up to the University and who are therefore obliged to enter on callings in life or whose interests and opportunities impel them to resort to technological or professional studies within or without the University.

Expenditure on education and the development of industrial life is not merely an economic investment from which a steady income may be expected in later years but even a political investment which will divert the intelligentsia from dreams of anarchism and bolshevism. As most of our graduates who are trained for the learned professions are not absorbed by them, they are wasting their energies in the sands of political and racial agitation. A bold effort on a large scale to apply the brain-power of the country to the natural resources has to be made immediately if the increasing economic restlessness and consequent political disorder are to be averted in any appreciable degree.

It is the duty of our Ministers and Legislative Council to make our education more efficient in every way. It is not necessary to scrap the existing machinery with its long experience and provincial resources at its back; we have only to adapt it to the new purposes of our age. Instead of waiting and watching to see whether the people are fit for another instalment of self-government, the education authorities must use every means in their power to fit the people for self-government as soon as possible by training them for citizenship, wealth-production and national defence. If the present Minister of Education, whose patriotism is unquestioned, takes up with strength and seriousness the problem of educational reform which cannot be further postponed without danger, he may show greater results than his predecessors in office.

Secondary Education Board.

The question of the reform of secondary education was thoroughly canvassed by the Sadler Commission who recommended the creation of an independent Board of Secondary

Education. Their proposals could not be carried out on account of their financial cost. Several attempts at piecemeal legislation proved abortive. Latterly we have had some agreement on the main principles of reform between the Government and the University. At present the schools are functioning under two separate authorities. The University cannot surrender its right to have its own Entrance Examination and this carries with it the power to recognise institutions which prepare candidates for this test, prescribe the courses of study and conduct examinations. The Government through its inspectorate distributes grants-in-aid. The new Board will exercise both these functions and have representatives of the University and the Government on it. There are differences of opinion regarding the controlling authority, whether it is to be the Senate or a new general body corresponding to the Senate. The chief objection to the former course seems to be that the Senate as at present constituted does not have an effective representation of secondary school teachers, but we are all looking forward to the remodelling of the Senate and this defect can be remedied then. The difficulty that the Syndicate is already overburdened with work cannot be seriously pressed, since the new Board would relieve the Syndicate of its school work. It is quite true that the Universities have little to do with schools in other countries but we have to remember that while Universities grew out of secondary schools everywhere else, the reverse process operated in India. The Sadler Commission recommended the ultimate separation of the Intermediate Classes from the degree courses. Such a separation is academically sound if financially possible. The control of the Board by the Senate will facilitate the transfer of the Intermediate Classes to the Board if and when the occasion for it arises. Besides, there is a social glamour about University examinations and until the new secondary schools and the Board become popular, it is best to retain them under the University. Such a course would save us from the apparently impossible task of assessing the financial loss to the University likely to be caused by the transfer of some of its examinations to the Board. Only we have to take care to see to it that University careers do not dominate school courses. The creation of a General Council will entail much expenditure which cannot be justified in the present state of our finances. After all, the powers of the Senate will be of a very general nature and the Board will enjoy absolute autonomy. After a time it may be necessary to make the Board autonomous and nothing can prevent us from doing it. There is no finality about educational matters. I hope that the Secondary Education Bill will soon be introduced in the Council and passed into law in a satisfactory form so that education might become a great highroad broad enough for all in their different capacities.

University Reform.

The recent debate on the University grant in the Legislative Council has revealed an unexpected unanimity about the need for University reform on an elective basis. The Sadler Report is not a sacred text and there is no reason why we should not adapt its recommendations to our needs. It suggests the formation of a Court, an Academic Council and a Syndicate. These answer roughly to our Senate, Faculties and the Syndicate. In its opinion the Court should be a much larger and more representative body than the present Senate. While a great and progressive University should be in active touch with the life of the nation, we have to remember that it exists primarily for the advancement of learning and research. It should therefore consist of a decided majority of academic representatives. They will be quite competent to deal with administrative questions. The idea that academic men are not suited for administrative work is peculiar to our country. So far as I know, the Universities of Great Britain and America are controlled by academic men. I am afraid that the Court, if constituted so as to include every important element of the public opinion of the areas which the University serves will become a ceremonial body whose discussions will be of an unpractical character. While the Senate should include a few representatives of the public at large, it should not be degraded into a durbar. Even in the present Senate, there are some gentlemen for whom a University fellowship is a mark of distinction or recognition of public importance. They do not trouble themselves about academic affairs but attend annual meetings to favour a friend or resist a rival. As a corporation of learning, the University should be under the authoritative direction of experts.

A University as an institution for cultural, professional and technological studies cannot be supported by the fees of the students. It must get liberal grants from the State whose subsidies should be statutory, *i.e.*, must not depend on the passing of annual estimates by the Legislature. I may quote in this connection the wise words of Lord Balfour in his opening speech at the Congress of the Universities of the British Empire held at Cambridge last year. "If the State be asked to subscribe great funds, either in this country or any of the Dominions or indeed in any country, there will always be a natural and pardonable instinct on the part of the State to control and supervise the working of an institution which it is doing so much to support. It is perfectly natural but it is extremely dangerous. Cambridge, Oxford and the older Universities are receiving assistance from the State, but our University traditions are so deeply rooted that I do not think there is any symptom, so far as my judgment goes, of any Government attempting to interfere with the University autonomy, which, whether it be well exercised or ill exercised, is at all events at the worst far better than State control." We should endeavour in every way to free the University from Government control and interference. It does not matter whether the Government is British or Indian, bureaucratic or democratic. The University is a national institution above the strife of parties and all attempts to entangle it in communal and political intrigue will have to be stoutly resisted. The breath of partisanship is blighting to academic ideals.

I think the Senate should consist of (1) *ex-officio* Fellows, who will include all Principals of Colleges training students for a degree course, and University Professors, (2) twenty members elected by the Registered Graduates, who will be the spokesmen of the community helping to keep the University in touch with all sides of national life, (3) twenty members elected by the teachers of Arts and Science colleges affiliated to the University and of secondary schools, (4) twenty members elected by the Post-graduate teachers in Arts and Science and teachers in the colleges of law, medicine, engineering and teaching; (5) twenty members to be elected by the Faculties of the University and bodies like the Corporation, Legislative Council and Chamber of Commerce and (6) twenty nominees of the Government. I believe that such a Senate will not be an unwieldy and amorphous body like the Court contemplated by the Sadler Commission but be a more workmanlike organisation composed essentially of academic men.

Conclusion.

Legislation and reform, curricula and courses of study cannot by themselves do very much ; everything depends on the personality and outlook of the teaching staff. An institution is inspired by the men who work it. Teachers of a certain type, men and women of high attainments with the vocation for the calling of a teacher are more important and more difficult to get than magnificent buildings and libraries. The place of the teacher in the building of the nation is very high. The best men of the country will have to be attracted to the profession of teaching. This cannot be done if college teachers are not provided with adequate salaries and reasonable security of tenure. While the material prizes of academic life cannot compete with those of commercial or industrial careers, they should be high enough to free the teacher from economic want and provide him with the leisure and detachment necessary for patient study and plodding work. A resolution is tabled which proposes an initial salary of Rs. 100 for a college tutor or demonstrator and Rs. 150 for a college lecturer and I hope that these very modest proposals will be accepted by you. It is a pity that the State is not realising its responsibilities to non-government institutions. It must come to their help with substantial grants for the improvement of the pay of their staff.

If the teaching body as a whole should influence the programme of the Universities, secure effective representation on the different authorities of the University and the governing bodies of the colleges, if it is to inspire the intellectual atmosphere of the country and take its proper place in the national life, it has to work with a consciousness of its vocation and dignity and in a spirit of unity and organisation. This Association works for these larger ends. I appeal to the members of the teaching profession in the Colleges and the University to join it in larger numbers and help in the realisation of its objects. For organised we are an army ; dissipated we are a rabble.

S. Radhakrishnan

THE ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL COURTS IN WORLD SOCIETY

In the first lecture in this series, I attempted to outline the forces which contributed during the nineteenth century to the formation of our present world community, and the efforts under way before the War to meet the needs of that community by organized action. In a second lecture, I dealt with the inauguration of the new method of conference and co-operation which we call the League of Nations, and on the experience of the past seven years I endeavoured to point out some of its larger significances for the future. A distinction is commonly drawn between political and non-political activities in the field of international relations, and much of the work done by the League method is said to fall into the former category. I am not sure that the distinction serves much purpose, and for myself I cannot sharply distinguish between those things which fall within the reach of the politicians' prerogative and those things which are outside it. Any activity which the politicians undertake would seem to me to become political by reason of their undertaking it. Yet the politicians will often need the co-operation of men of other professions, and particularly of lawyers and judges, and I would now invite your attention to those special problems of international relations which require the attention of courts manned by professional jurists.

Laymen are often tempted to exaggerate the role of law and courts in human society. The analogies between national and international law are so easily stretched that many people would make the same approach to both. They see in most countries a clearly recognised body of law, much of which may be known by individuals in advance of their acting and may be applied and enforced by courts with some degree of certainty and promptitude. They, therefore, conclude that an international community must have a similar code of law governing the relations of states, and courts which will enforce it without favour against all states alike. Although much of the national law which relates to the action of public bodies and to the harmonizing of public relations cannot be viewed precisely as that law which governs the relations of individuals *inter se*, this distinction is often neglected by people who think of a dispute between two states as they think of a dispute between two of their fellow-citizens. The fact is forgotten, also, that even the national law of most countries does not make provision for all of the individual relations, and that especially in the more highly industrialized countries we are confronted every day with numerous relationships which remain on the outer fringe of crystallized law.

The over-simplification of the legal questions arising in international affairs is further encouraged by much of our legal philosophy and by lay versions of it. Some people seem to think of law as a gift of a divine Providence, of which the operation is impeded only by the waywardness of selfish and greedy men ; and they seem to expect agencies created to apply it to act independently of the ordinary conditions of human action, as if law were automatic and courts but automatons in its administration. The opinion voiced in some parts of the world, therefore, looks forward to the codification of international law and the creation of courts "with teeth" to apply it, in such a way as to enable us to dispense with the continued action of the politicians. I shall deal with the codification of international law in a later lecture, and I shall now confine myself to a discussion of what our international courts have done and what we may expect of them in the future.

The creation of courts organized in such a way that they can serve the whole community of states has proved to be one of the difficult tasks of the immediate past. The idea of an international court of justice has stirred in men's minds for many generations. Jeremy Bentham in his zeal for law reform saw the need of such a court even before the beginning of the nineteenth century, and almost all of the schemes for international organization put forward during the nineteenth century included some such suggestion. But it was not until a more general interest in the development of arbitration was stimulated by the successful arbitration in 1872 of the dispute between Great Britain and the United States of America, concerning the Alabama claims, that such suggestions came within the serious notice of responsible statesmen. Popular interest in the creation of a permanent agency for arbitration continued to increase, but no nation took the step of calling a conference for the purpose; and with so little opportunity for enacting the necessary legislation, nothing was accomplished until the first Peace Conference met at The Hague in 1899. The subject did not find place among the items on the agenda of the conference even then, and it was only added after the sessions had been begun. The conference succeeded in getting agreement on the convention for the pacific settlement of international disputes, and it set up the Permanent Court of Arbitration, which since 1900 has served a very useful function. The Permanent Court of Arbitration hardly deserves that name, for it is not in fact a court; it has no judges, and it is not permanent in the sense of having a personnel of members who devote their time to any international work. Indeed, it is only a panel of the nominees of various governments who may serve as arbitrators when they are invited to do so. The arbitration procedure envisaged in the convention for pacific settlement may also be followed by arbitral tribunals whose members are not drawn from this panel. But as the first agency of its kind, the Permanent Court of Arbitration holds an important place in the history of our international polity.

It is now a quarter of a century since the first arbitration was entrusted to a tribunal chosen from the Permanent Court of Arbitration, and in that time nineteen arbitrations have been referred to such tribunals or handled in accordance with the procedure outlined in the convention for pacific settlement. The nineteenth case, a dispute between the United States of America and the Netherlands, concerning an island in the Philippine Archipelago, has not yet been finally disposed of. The record itself is imposing, and indicates the existence of the world's need of such an agency. But perhaps the mere fact of the existence of such a body has proved more important than the awards which have been made. For it has focussed attention on the possibilities of peaceful settlement, it has greatly encouraged the development of arbitration and the negotiation of arbitration agreements, and it has paved the way for further steps which have been taken towards the international administration of justice. If at times false hopes have been aroused among people who did not understand the limited nature of the progress made at The Hague, the effect of their disappointment has been more than offset by the encouragement given to a belief in the efficacy of effort in this field. The older notion that nations have always fought and always will and the pessimistic view that arrangements in advance intended to facilitate peaceful settlement will always prove futile, have given way to a faith widely held that something can be accomplished by the creation of agencies and machinery, which by their very existence may make it more probable that there will be a willingness to make use of them. The various states have with some degree of regularity appointed the members of the Permanent Court of Arbitration, which now number about one hundred and fifty, and they have not withheld the co-operation which has enabled the diplomatic corps at The Hague to carry on the necessary acts of administration. The existence of the Court has helped rather than hindered the conduct of arbitrations by outside tribunals following a different procedure, and I cannot see how any one might think that the world would have been better off during the past twenty-five years if the Permanent Court of Arbitration had never been created.

But the shortcomings of this body were appreciated at the time it was launched, and agitation at once began for creating a more adequate international agency for the administration of justice. It was thought quite generally that arbitration differed from adjudication according to law, and hence it was argued that a new tribunal should be established which would be equipped to adjudicate international disputes by application of the established law. I think it is open to serious doubt whether the distinction between arbitration and adjudication was not pressed too far in the decade before the War. If all arbitrators endeavoured to bring the disputant states to acceptable terms without reference to the law applying to their claims and if all judges engaged in the inexorable application of definite and inescapable law without reference to what may be its practical consequences in the given case, the distinction might be a more important one. There may have been cases in which both of these things happened ; in one important case it was widely thought that the arbitrators confined themselves to "splitting the difference." But in the great majority of cases arbitrators who are usually lawyers feel themselves bound by the applicable law if any law is clearly applicable, just as judges feel themselves bound to consider the consequences of the decisions which they reach. Yet if the distinction has often been pressed too far, it has nevertheless rendered the service of stressing the importance of having a fixed personnel of judges, trained in handling international cases, devoting their time to doing so, habituated to working harmoniously together and available to be called upon at any time to deal with any case which may be submitted to them. Such a personnel was not provided by the Permanent Court of Arbitration, nor was the procedure of the tribunals worked out in such a way as to offer a chance for continuity and development toward judicial standards.

At the second Peace Conference at The Hague, in 1907, therefore, an attempt was made to organize a new Court of Arbitral Justice. The Permanent Court of Arbitration set up in 1899 was to be continued under the revised convention for the pacific settlement of international disputes, and alongside it the Conference projected that there should be another body better manned for the development of judicial traditions. The project became far advanced, for there was general agreement on its basic idea and most of its provisions ; but it proved impossible to get agreement on any proposed method of electing the judges. Certain states feared that the limited number of judges would not include their own nationals, and the dogma of state equality precluded them from accepting any such situation. The representative of the Dominican Republic declared, for instance, that under no circumstances could he agree to setting up an institution in which San Domingo did not have equal representation with Great Britain. A project which lacked provision for the election of judges was included in the Final Act of the Conference, but later efforts to have it put into operation proved of no avail.

Nor did the International Prize Court, for the creation of which a convention was signed at the second Peace Conference at The Hague, meet with any better fate. In this convention a very artificial method of choosing the judges was adopted, which might have worked for a time but which would almost certainly have handicapped the Court if it had ever been inaugurated. But it was the failure of the Declaration of London which made the establishment of the Prize Court impossible ; the state of prize law, which has so largely been determined by the countries of large naval power, did not warrant such an attempt apart from the adoption of a new code of maritime law. Nor have the lessons about prize law which were learned during the War tended to revive the movement in favour of such a tribunal.

With the close of the War, the effort to establish a new court of justice was resumed, and the creation of the Assembly and the Council of the League of Nations afforded an avenue of escape from the *impasse* of 1907. In the Assembly adequate account had been taken of the principle of state equality, while in the Council adequate provision had been made for the special position of certain more influential Powers. It was a very happy proposal of the Advisory Commission of Jurists which sat at The Hague in the summer of 1920, on the invitation of the Council of the League of Nations, that the judges of a new court should be elected by the Assembly and Council jointly. In most other respects, the plan proposed by that Advisory Committee was based on ideas already accepted in 1907. Account was of course taken of the great advance in international organization, for co-relation between the work of the new Court and that of the Assembly and Council had been provided for in the Covenant of the League of Nations. In the changed situation after the War, it proved relatively easy to create the Permanent Court of International Justice, which now fills much the same function as that for which a Court of Arbitral Justice had been desired in 1907. Even the abortive efforts of one generation may help a later generation; but it seems very doubtful whether the new Court could have been created at the close of the War, at any rate with such extensive jurisdiction, if there had been no League of Nations.

The question often arises whether the Permanent Court of Arbitration is needed now that the Permanent Court of International Justice has come into being. At the present time the answer must clearly be in the affirmative. As a rallying-point for popular opinion which favours the peaceful settlement of disputes, the new Court has almost entirely superseded the old; and considering that only one dispute has been referred to a tribunal of the old Court since the new one began its work—and in that instance it was partly because one of the parties had not signed the protocol of signature of the new Court—I think it may be said that the large majority of cases which might otherwise have gone to tribunals of the old Court will probably go to the new Court in the future. But cases may still arise in which disputant states will prefer a reference to arbitrators of their own choice to a reference to the fixed bench of the new Court. Moreover, the members of the old Court perform an essential office in connection with the election of judges of the new Court; acting as national groups, they must nominate the candidates who in the first instance are to be voted on by the Assembly and the Council of the League of Nations in electing the judges of the new Court. It seems important, therefore, that the old Court should be continued, and this view is vindicated by the recent accessions to the 1907 convention for the pacific settlement of international disputes, as well as by the prompt nomination of new members to fill vacancies in the old Court.

The volume of business to come before the Permanent Court of International Justice has been such as few people anticipated when the Court was established. In five years it has been called upon to give seven judgments and thirteen advisory opinions—a larger output than that of the Permanent Court of Arbitration in twenty-five years. Each of these judgments and opinions has related to some important difference which had arisen in such a way as to demand solution, and each of them has formed the basis for some kind of settlement of the difference to which it related. If all of them have not been matters of first importance in the vexed state of international affairs during the past five years, and if one may say that important differences have arisen concerning which the Court's aid ought to have been and was not sought, still the fact remains that the Court has been so busy and so useful that it has thoroughly earned its salt. All of the judgments and opinions have not given universal satisfaction; the dissatisfaction of losing parties is to be expected, and criticism of the opinion in the Eastern Carelia case has been frequently voiced. But the work of such an agency is not likely to be free from criticism, ever, and both in the Foreign Offices and among the legal profession of the world the Court has already earned an enviable reputation and prestige.

One result of the satisfaction taken in the work of the new Court has been the additions to its jurisdiction by way of special clauses in treaties providing for the reference to the Court of disputes which may arise in the execution of the treaties themselves. It has now become a common practice to insert such clauses in general multilateral conventions, and they are not infrequently to be found in bilateral treaties, particularly treaties of conciliation and arbitration. Such jurisdiction has been exercised by the Court in the Mavrommatis case, and in the case relating to German interests in Polish Upper Silesia. The opportunity for inserting such clauses has influence at times in making possible agreements which could not otherwise be reached—perhaps that may be said of the treaties constituting the settlement of Locarno. In this way the Court is fast acquiring an extensive compulsory jurisdiction which may come in time to be as important as the so-called compulsory jurisdiction conferred by the acceptance of the "optional clause."

I think it may be doubted whether the importance of giving the Court general compulsory jurisdiction has not been overemphasized. It is very easy here to be misled by the analogy to national courts. An individual is not consulted as to his willingness to appear as a defendant in a national court; but there definite forms of action are available, a definite default procedure can be invoked, and a default judgment can be enforced by a marshal. None of these things is true of international courts at the present time, nor can its development be envisaged in the early future. In our present situation, therefore, though a state may have bound itself in advance to submit to the Court's jurisdiction, the effective realization of a solution by resort to the Court will almost always depend on the state's own co-operation. Moreover, provisions for compulsory jurisdiction which will hold water against an unwillingness to carry them out are difficult if not impossible to draw—certainly article 36 of the Court's Statute is not free from wide scope for varying interpretation. I share the hope of many people that the "optional clause" of the Court's Statute will be more generally accepted, but I think it is not a reason for undue discouragement that only twenty-five states have accepted it to date.

The usefulness of the Court is not to be judged solely by the amount of business which comes before it. Just as the existence of the Permanent Court of Arbitration increased the confidence of people that efforts to the devise machinery for peaceful settlement were not all in vain, so the existence of the Permanent Court of International Justice has tended to increase the willingness to seek some pacific way out of international difficulties. With reference to cases which flare up and never come before the Court, it is important that in public discussion the possibility of recourse to the Court at once presents itself as an alternative to force. When the Greek Patriarch was expelled from Constantinople in 1924, the fact that the Council of the League of Nations agreed to the Greek demand and requested an advisory opinion of the Court, was a factor which made for easier settlement of that difficulty, and a settlement was reached before the Court could meet to respond to the request. The promptness with which resort to the Court is now suggested the moment any acute situation arises, is another indication of the Court's influence. This has been quite noticeable in two instances during the past month—such a suggestion was made with reference to the Sino-Belgian dispute about the renewal of a treaty and with reference to the dispute between the United States of Mexico and the United States of America about the effect of certain Mexican laws on the property of American citizens. As the existence and successful functioning of national courts tend to increase a local community's confidence in the prevalence of law and order, so the existence of the Permanent Court of International Justice tends to increase our sense of security in the international community.

But I find one conception very prevalent which seems to me to exaggerate the importance of the Court's influence. It is quite generally supposed that an adequate Court will directly oviate a resort to war. Some of my fellow-countrymen who are eager to have war "outlawed," appear as eager to have a court given larger powers with a view to the prevention of war. The impression also exists that if such a court were created and international law were codified, there would be no need of other agencies of political adjustment to be maintained by the international community. I think these views do not take sufficient account of the limits on judicial action. I can hardly imagine, for instance, that any of the nineteen cases which have come before the Permanent Court of Arbitration, nor that any of the disputes which were the subjects of the seven judgments of the Permanent Court of International Justice, would have led to war if those institutions had not existed. It is quite unthinkable to me that the United States and the Netherlands might have fought about the question which is now pending before a tribunal of the Permanent Court of Arbitration—the question of the sovereignty over the island of Palmas in the Philippine Archipelago. Nor is it possible for me to believe that Great Britain and Greece might have gone to war over the case of the Mavrommatis Concessions in Palestine which has been successfully adjudicated by the Permanent Court of International Justice. A long series of such questions might produce strained relations between two countries which, combined with serious conflicts of policy, would lead to war; but it seems safe to say that the great majority of cases susceptible of being litigated in an international tribunal will be of the kind about which nations would never think of fighting. This is not to say that the successful handling of such cases is not important—in the past they have often served as pretexts, and they can always disturb the harmony which we would have to prevail in the international community. But we must see the rule of courts as it is, and the truth seems to be that the serious international differences cannot be pressed into legal equations. I think this may partly explain the reluctance of certain states to accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the new court.

It is the more important, therefore, that alongside a court the international community should have other agencies to deal with the disputes which only lend themselves to political adjustment. In a conference like the Council of the League of Nations, the same limitations do not circumscribe action; discussion is not restricted to such precise issues; differences may be narrowed, but they do not have to be crowded into legal formulæ; the methods of solution available are more varied. Politicians and diplomats accustomed to responsibility are more likely to have the necessary adaptability than judges who have spent their lives in chambers or at the bar. I think it is clear, therefore, that the world needs such agencies as well as courts, and in the long run I think there is more to hope for from them than from courts, in the prevention of war.

It would be extremely unfortunate, however, if there were no co-operation between the Council of the League of Nations and the Permanent Court of International Justice. One of the happiest innovations of the Covenant of the League is the provision in Article 14 that "the Court may give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the Council or Assembly." The language of the French text seems to be more mandatory, but the practice which has now become established has robbed the controversy about the duty of the Court to give advisory opinions of much of its importance. The innovation was not viewed without suspicion in the beginning, but I think its value has been amply vindicated by the experience of these five years. In fourteen instances, the Council has requested the Court to give advisory opinions; in six instances it was because the Council was seised of a dispute of a generally political character, in the course of which legal questions arose on which the assistance of the Court was needed; in four instances it was because difficulties had arisen in the work of the International Labour Organization which necessitated an authoritative determination of its constitutional law; in two instances it was because disputing states sought the Council's aid in the solution of distinctly legal questions; and in one instance, it was because of the insistence of a single state which had sought in vain other methods of solution of a difficulty with its neighbour. I think the Mosul case, to which I referred in my last lecture, is very interesting in this connection : when the Council came to consider the report of its commission sent into the Mosul territory, it found that the representatives of Turkey challenged its jurisdiction on legal grounds, and a serious question arose as to the requirement of unanimity. Without the possibility of having these matters settled at the time, and settled in such a way as to give confidence to the disputing states, the usefulness of the Council might have been very seriously impaired. The Court's opinion was very promptly given, and it enabled the Council to proceed with the settlement of a question which might very well have led to hostilities. This, then, seems to be a contribution which the Court can make to the maintenance of peace. It can supplement the Council, it can increase the effectiveness of political deliberations on disputes which might lead to war, it can clear away the legal tangles which so frequently stick out in the foreground of disputes in which the real issues are obscured in a political background. The scales are never too heavily balanced in favour of peace, and we cannot have too many agencies at hand to assist in keeping the balance on that side.

The objections which have been made to advisory opinions do not seem to me serious, though in the United States of America they have achieved some importance. It is said that the giving of advisory opinions is not a judicial function, and that this feature of its jurisdiction deprives the Court of its character as a real court. If the question be viewed historically, it is not to be denied that such jurisdiction has long been exercised and is still exercised by the courts of many countries;

the advisory opinion about the so-called " Irish Treaty " given by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in 1924 is a striking example. If the question be viewed analytically, judiciality would seem to exist where there is a precise question before a court, where a contest with reference to it is actually in progress, where a public hearing is held or an opportunity for such a hearing is given, and where a reasoned judgment is arrived at after due deliberation. By either test, the jurisdiction as it is exercised by the Court would seem to fall quite clearly within the limits of the judicial function. It is also said that it is open to the Court to give secret opinions. Certainly that is not precluded by the Court's Statute, but it is clearly excluded both by the Court's rules and by its practice. It is further said that this feature of the Court's jurisdiction renders it subservient to the Council and makes it but a political agency; but the Court has demonstrated its independence by refusing to give the opinion requested in the Eastern Carelia case.

During the past year, the Government of the United States of America sought to adhere to the protocol of signature of the Court with various reservations, the important one of which provided that without the consent of the United States, the Court should not " entertain any request for an advisory opinion touching any dispute or question in which the United States has or claims an interest." The object of this reservation was stated to be to secure for the United States a position of equality with those of the signatories that were Members of the League of Nations and represented on the Council. But it has never been determined whether action by the Council requesting an advisory opinion must be taken by unanimous vote, and even if this doubt were to be resolved in favour of requiring unanimity, some inequality might still exist if the power to prevent the Court from entertaining a request were conceded to a state which is not represented at meetings of the Council and which undertakes no responsibility for assisting in the solution of the question concerning which an advisory opinion is to be requested. The conference of signatories which met in Geneva last September was therefore reluctant to make this concession, and the result to date is that no action seems to be possible at the present time to enable the United States to join in maintaining the Court. From a general point of view, it would seem desirable that some way should be found for non-members of the League to share in maintaining the Court, in order that their resort to it may be made more probable. This is particularly true in the case of the United States of America, for the frequent use of the Court by other American states would seem to be in some degree conditioned on the support of the United States. The solution of this problem calls for statesmanship of a high order.

In some quarters an objection to the Court has been based upon the fact that it is not backed by any force which will compel its judgments to be observed. Again it is the analogy to national Courts which suggests that every court must have somewhere in the background a marshal who can execute its judgments; but it is a false analogy which would assimilate individuals and public bodies in this respect. Nowhere perhaps is a more illuminating experience to be found on this point than in the history of the Supreme Court of the United States of America. In the early days of that republic, when the new Supreme Court had given a judgment against one of the federated states, an unsympathetic President described the situation by exclaiming, "Chief Justice Marshall has given his decision, now let him enforce it." When in more recent times a dispute arose between the two states of Virginia and West Virginia, and the Court had given a large money judgment against the latter, the question squarely arose how it was to be enforced; and though the Court repeatedly asserted its power, it succeeded in discovering successive expedients which prolonged the litigation until a settlement was finally reached. Like the Supreme Court of the United States, the Permanent Court of International Justice really depends on public opinion for its sanction. The Covenant does mention in Article 13 proposals to be made by the Council in the event of a failure of any Member of the League to carry out a judgment, and the sanctions of Article 16 may be applicable to a resort to war against a Member which complies with a judgment of the Court. But it would be a rare case in which such provisions would be invoked, and in the main I think that the international community must content itself with that moral pressure which will usually be exerted to see that the Court's judgments are not flaunted.

For some time past, a proposal has been discussed, especially at meetings of the International Law Association, that an international criminal court should be constituted. In its latest form the proposal is that either a separate criminal court should be set up or criminal jurisdiction should be conferred on the Permanent Court of International Justice, and a reference to it may not seem inapposite in connection with the foregoing discussion of sanctions. It is the kind of proposal which so frequently appeals to people who have a fondness for symmetry. We have criminal courts in our national communities ; why not also in the international community ? The short answer would seem to be that we have no international criminal law for such a court to apply. It is frequently said that piracy is a crime under international law ; there has been some disposition to say the same of the slave trade on the high seas ; and in 1922 the Washington Conference on Limitation of Armaments elaborated a treaty which would have made the violation of certain rules relating to the use of submarines punishable "as if for an act of piracy." But the Washington treaty is not in effect and may never be brought into effect, and piracy has now grown so rare that it would not seem to call for the setting up of any new agency. Nor is it easy to see the need for any tribunal to which such general power might be given. If the attempt in the Covenant to define and discourage aggression cannot be realized by political action, it seems improbable that assistance can be had from any enlargement of the criminal law. The lamentable fiasco of the attempt of the Allied Powers to bring to punishment certain Germans accused of violation of the laws and customs of war, in accordance with provisions in the Treaty of Versailles (Article 228), should place us on our guard against a too ready acceptance of the notion that any crimes may be punishable by international authority.

It seems unnecessary to deal in this connection with the history of various attempts to establish international courts of a local jurisdiction; but one such attempt is perhaps deserving of mention. In 1907, the governments of the five Central American Powers elaborated a convention "for the purpose of efficaciously guaranteeing their rights and maintaining peace and harmony unalterably in their relations, without being obliged to resort in any case to the employment of force." This convention established a Central American Court of Justice, which functioned with somewhat questionable success for the period of ten years during which the convention was in force. But the convention was not renewed when it expired in 1918, and the Court has not since been re-created. It was a local court in the sense that its jurisdiction covered only controversies among those five states and controversies between their governments and individuals submitted to it by common accord. Its whole history was troubled, and its experience has not illuminated the approach to many problems of the wider world community. Nor did the Central American Powers in their conference in Washington in 1923 attempt to revive the idea of a permanent court; instead they provided for commissions which will proceed along very different lines.

It is also of interest to note that a suggestion has recently been made, and will come before the Commission of Jurists set up by the Conference of American States, when it meets, that a Pan-American court of justice should be created to deal with disputes among the states of

North and South America. The delegation of Costa Rica presented such a plan to the Santiago Conference in 1923, and the suggestion has been elaborated in a project since prepared by the American Institute of International Law. These proposals proceed on the assumption that there exists a special body of American international law, and that the American states have an interest in handling their common legal problems independently of the co-operation of states in other parts of the world. While it is difficult to believe that they are destined to meet with much success in view of the co-operation of so many Latin-American states in the League of Nations, recent events in South America may have worked in that direction, and the uncertainty of the development of the policy of the United States known as the Monroe Doctrine may make for a favourable atmosphere for their consideration by the American states. A sharp division between the Western and Eastern hemispheres might possibly have been made a century ago, but with the establishment of so many lines of communication in both directions across both the oceans that separate them, it would now seem very late in the day for such a division to be made. Moreover, in the two plans which have been published, the proposals for electing the judges of such a separate tribunal are very artificial, for the escape from the equality of states conception is more difficult in America than in Europe.

It is hardly more than a generation since statesmen began to give serious attention to the needs of our international community for courts of arbitration and of justice. In that short period, we have had established both the Permanent Court of Arbitration and the Permanent Court of International Justice. Each of these institutions has been more successful than most of us would have predicted when it was established. In twenty-five years of the one, eighteen arbitrations have been handled, and a nineteenth is now pending; in five years of the other, seven judgments have been handed down and thirteen advisory opinions. A greater service still has been the general encouragement they have given to the extension of pacific settlement, and the confidence they have inspired in the efficacy of effort directed to that end. If they are not likely to be called upon to handle those more troublesome disputes which might lead to war, and if the view of them as substitutes for war may be somewhat exaggerated, it is nevertheless true that they form an essential part of the international co-operation of our time. The Permanent Court of International Justice is a valuable supplement to the Council of the League of Nations, and its advisory opinions have helped it to win a prestige which augurs well for the future.

But perhaps the most significant result of the work of such agencies will be in their contribution to the development of international law—a subject which I shall reserve for a final lecture.[1]

MANLEY O. HUDSON

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[1] Delivered at the Calcutta University, February 2, 1927. A chapter from *Current International Co-operation*, to be published by the University. The final lecture appears elsewhere in the current issue

POETRY AND PROSE

I.

The sun now sets. On Ganges' bank
I see upon that rise
On thorny bush a single flow'r.
Throw smiles to silent skies.
The crescent moon returns her smiles,
Soft sings that tiny bird,
Now Ganges her side to lap forgets,
Her moving strain's unheard.
Moon-soft that darling flow'ret's hue,
Her scent is softer still,
A sweetness strange pervades the air,
A spell the stars distil.
O, how to name the mystery ?
I hear in heart—" Life's Poetry."

II.

'Tis market day. On stores of flower
Bewitched, I stand to gaze.
List ! tulip, rose and orchid laugh,
A laugh to sense a maze.
How name this madding, magic maze?
My heart I question close,
And there I hear a lusty oath—
" The name? Life's florid Prose."
Poetry and Prose,
Jessamine and Rose,
Hand maiden twins of word divine
In love-pure heart to sweetly shine.

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJI

HINDU-MOSLEM RELATIONS— A RAPID SURVEY

The capacity for absorption and assimilation was the chief merit of the social system evolved by the Aryans in India. With the progress of their "Colonisation" from province to province in this country, they came into contact with congeries of races and creeds. All these were gradually and slowly absorbed into their social body. Even the excellent civilisation developed by the Dravidians could not long maintain its separate identity. After years and perhaps centuries of contact, the Dravidian culture and civilisation also were practically merged in the Aryan system. Not that in this process of slow and silent unification, the Aryans accepted and borrowed nothing from the peoples they met with. In fact, they accepted freely the worship of prominent deities, manners and customs from them and the Aryan civilisation that India developed came to be a compound of many cultures, faiths and creeds.

Later on, when the Greeks, Huns, Scythians and other barbarian hordes invaded India through her North Western gates, it was also by this slow process of gradual absorption that their fusion in the Aryan social system was brought about. Thus through centuries and ages, India developed a civilisation and culture to which many races and peoples contributed. It was, therefore, not unnatural that with the advent of the Mahomedans, many of the Rajput Princes would feel consciously or unconsciously that they too would be in time absorbed into their social body. But this was not to be. For quite a long time the Mussalman conquerors refused to be absorbed in, and contribute their share to, the amalgam of Aryan civilisation in India.

They had come out to this country as the standard-bearer of a new faith and a new social system. It was impossible for them all at once to throw overboard their separate identity and merge their existence in the Hindu Social organisation. They in fact continued to live and expand as a distinct social and religious community. Efforts, however, were made from time to time, and with a good deal of success, to bring the two communities nearer. Geography also made its influence felt. Living side by side, one could not but be influenced by the other. It was impossible to raise a stone wall between the communities and divide them vertically into air-tight compartments. Neighbourliness in residence could not fail to dissipate distance in outlook and ideals. The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries constituted really an age of synthesis and cultural assimilation and it was during this period, more than at any other time, that a serious movement was led to bring about a fusion of the two civilisations and social systems. Saints like Namdeva (early 15th century), Kabir (born 1398) and Nanak (born 1469) were the forerunners of this movement. In the field of thought and idea, they practically brought about a revolution and turned the men's mind towards the unity of the Hindus and Moslems. The Sayings of Kabir appealed to the imagination of the people of Hindusthan and prepared the ground for the activities of others. The two Emperors Sher Shah and Akbar the Great, who were the true children of this synthetic age took up this work seriously and earnestly. The Sufi Mahomedans led in the time of Akbar by saint Mubarok also gave an impetus to this movement of unification. In art and architecture, customs and manners, language and literature, religious doctrines and practices, a sort of fusion was being slowly brought about. Out of the congeries of faiths and communities, a nation was being evolved. This movement continued for over a century and a half and was only arrested during the reactionary regime of Aurangzeb. The blind measures of this bigoted and unstatesman-like ruler bruised the little plant of Hindu-Moslem Unity that was being heretofore so carefully reared. The progress of assimilation stopped half way and a fillip was given to the forces of separatism and sectionalism. A legacy of conflict was thus left behind.

The crash of the Moghul Empire some years later, which was not a little due to the Hindu revolt of Maharastra, was followed by the Great Anarchy of the eighteenth century and the subsequent installation of the British Power. The rapid collapse of an once all-powerful Empire stunned the Moslems and dazed the Hindus. Overwhelmed by the anarchy and repressed by foreign occupation, they remained silent and mute. For over a century they were lifeless and inert. It was only towards the close of the first quarter of the last century that a renaissance came upon the Hindus. The influence of the Hindu College and the activities of Rajah Ram Mohan Roy constituted the most important factors of this movement of Hindu awakening. The Moslems rigidly kept aloof from the culture imported from the West and remained untouched by the new learning. The Hindus meanwhile profited by the English education of which they took full advantage. Their soil was thus to some extent prepared for the growth of new ideas among them, while that of the Moslems remained too uncultured and uncultivated to receive any inspiration. The movement however, though confined to the Hindus, was far from being communal and sectional. It was quite universal in outlook. The Hindu College drew its inspiration wholly from the West and as such was neither Hindu nor Moslem. It accepted the ideas of European rationalism and utilitarianism. The Rajah also was inspired as much by the Upanishads as by the Quoran. He was as much for the resuscitation of the ancient ideals of Hinduism as for the acceptance of the "Spirit of Islam." He was standing as much for the revival of ancient Indian learning as for inviting to our shores the sciences and philosophy of the West. The movement that he led was, therefore, quite a synthetic and unifying one. If it was guided along his lines and brought within its purview both the Hindus and Moslems, the two communities would have by this time been altogether fused down into a common society and nationality. But as on the one side, the Mahomedans remained unaffected by it, so on the other the movement itself was diverted from its original channel and gradually given a Hindu colour. It is to-day, if not theoretically, certainly practically, a "Hindu Expansion movement" and nothing more.

The later movements, led by Swamis Dayanand and Vivekanand were unequivocally Hindu in outlook, colour and inspiration. It should however be noted that while they advocated the remodelling of the Hindu society and the purification and propagation of the Hindu religion, they also brought into prominence the question of the status of the mother country. Political dependence and religious culture were inconsistent in their opinion, and they were quite successful in inculcating this view among their numerous followers. After their example, the educated Hindus became eager for the emancipation of their country from the hands of the foreigners on one side and were enthused by the prospect of the revival and regeneration of Hinduism on the other. Two divergent sentiments thus worked in them. In their attitude towards the Britishers, they were nationalists and patriots, and in their attitude towards the Moslems they were only Hindus.

The Moslems were for the first time awakened from the social and religious inertia of the last hundred and fifty years by Sir Syed Ahmad in the seventies of the last century. They had, as already noticed, kept, up to this time, aloof from western education and culture and had consequently come to be a backward community. Sir Syed Ahmad now set about improving their position. He initiated an education movement among the Mahomedans and by exercising all his influence and prestige, he was able to enlist in its behalf the sympathy and support of a good many of his co-religionists. And in the same year (1875) as the Arya Samaj was established at Prayag, he was successful in laying the foundation of the Anglo-Oriental Mahomedan College at Aligarh. Henceforward

Hindu and Mahomedan public opinion came to be guided more and more along sectional channels. The old ideal of unity and oneness as preached by the Rajah was over-shadowed. And while the Hindus of Upper India flocked more and more to the banner of Swami Dayanand and looked upon Hindusthan as a Hindu heritage, the Mahomedan movement was also given a pre-eminently communal bias and colour. Along with his educational movement Sir Syed organised also a movement of social and religious reform among the Indian Moslems. This modernising movement was quite on all fours with those of the Hindu Reformers. But his advocacy of implicit obedience to the British Government jarred on the ears of the Hindus. His motto that he asked his co-religionists to follow was "Educate yourself and support the British Government." This principle of loyalism was followed by the Mahomedan community for long and it was only a few stray Mussalmans that for the first twenty years of the Indian National Congress joined its sessions. The nineteenth century Indian nationalism was practically Hindu nationalism. From all political agitation and struggle, the Moslems with few exceptions kept away. This difference in political outlook represented itself to both the communities rather in a sinister way. They came to look upon their interests as separate and different while they were really identical and inseparable. Nor was it long when the third party, the British Government, proceeded to take advantage of the situation. Faced with a sturdy Hindu nationalism and political agitation, they encouraged and kept alive this sentiment of difference. Their policy was now to keep down and repress the Hindu nationalists and placate the Mahomedans. If the Moslems whole-heartedly joined the national movement initiated by the Hindus, the shoulder to shoulder fight for the regeneration of their common fatherland would have washed off the sentiment of difference that was lingering and would have generated a feeling of unity and brotherhood instead. The association and identification of the Moslems with the British Government with which the Hindus, inspired by the new spirit of nationalism and freedom, were now in conflict only served to bring into high relief the wide gulf between the two communities. The policy of repressing the Hindus and placating the Moslems was exhibited clearly in the Partition of Bengal. The province might have been unwieldy and might have called for re-arrangement. But the way it was partitioned, and the manner "the favourite wife" policy was pursued unequivocally pointed to the way the wind was blowing. The Government followed the policy of *divide et impera,* and unhappily the Moslems played into their hands. The two communities thus were more and more estranged from each other.

The policy of repressing the Hindus, however, failed of its purpose. The effect was only the other way about. The agitation of the Hindus, for the modification of the partition and for political reforms, did not die down. Even in alliance with the Moslem community the Government could not nip it in the bud. It only grew in volume and strength. The British Government now guided at the helm by a Liberal Statesman, proceeded to devise other means for the pacification of the Hindus. For a time, the partition remained a " settled fact " but a prospect of granting some political and administrative reforms was dangled out before them. That the central and provincial councils would be enlarged, non-official strength increased, and the elective principle adopted, became apparent. That the gradual Indianisation of the Services would follow suit was also looked upon as possible. This now set the Mahomedans a-thinking. With the exception of a microscopic few, they were so long not only unconnected with the political movement but were positively opposed to it. But now when the fruits of the Hindu agitation were going to be borne, they became anxious for the "spoils." Somehow the thought crept into their mind that if the people were invited to take some share in the Governmental power, it would mostly go over to the Hindus, who were in a majority in most provinces, and the Mahomedans would be left in the lurch. They also entertained the view that even in provinces where they commanded the majority, their educational backwardness would go against them and furnish the Hindus with the opportunity of monopolising the political power, opened out to the people. That they were culturally and educationally less advanced was certainly true, and for this situation, they themselves were responsible. They did not take full advantage of the new education and educational institutions established for its spread. Now the remedy for this state of backwardness was only more and more emphasis upon Mahomedan education and instruction. Once equal in education and cultural advance, they might have met the Hindus on equal terms and common ground. This would have set at rest all heart-burning and mutual recriminations. Once man to man equal, the Hindus and Mahomedans would have relegated to the back-ground all communal considerations and gradually formed a common society of equally advanced men and women. But this did not impress the Mahomedan leaders in 1905-6. They were only obsessed by the thought of Hindu domination. They now demanded the safeguarding of Mahomedan rights and privileges. In this thought and demand, they were, of course, encournged by the British Officials in India. "Minto (the Governor General), like the Secretary of State (John Morley), had a liking for the Mohammedan......." And the Moslem deputation that proceeded to wait on the Viceroy under the leadership of H.H. the Aga Khan, in 1906, to emphasise the urgency of separate Moslem representation was, enthusiastically received at Simla on the 1st of October. Some time later, another Moslem deputation saw Lord Morley, the Secretary of State, and demanded special communal representation for the Mussalmans, as a measure for safeguarding the Moslem interests. This sectional demand certainly jarred on the ears of Lord Morley. But he too, was gradually tutored by the Indian officialdom into accepting this political heresy. Morley was led to believe that the Hindus and the Mussalmans constituted not only two religious communities, but also two distinct social systems and civilisations. Accordingly he was led to initiate the principle of communal representation which is now the plague-spot of Indian politics. The Mahomedans welcomed it as their communal triumph and associated it with their communal prestige. Under the Act of 1909, the election being indirect, the full fruit of separate representation could not be borne all at once. The spirit of difference that it inculcates could not filter down to the masses, it remained confined only to the select people. The Hindus as a result could not possibly grasp the full significance of the principle imposed upon the country by the Morley-Minto Reforms. They too, therefore, to a great extent accepted it as a convenient ground for conciliating the Moslems. In 1916, the first pourparlers on the post-war Indian Reforms took place between Whitehall and Simla. And in the next Christmas week at Lucknow, the Joint Session of the Indian National Congress and the Moslem League proceeded to prepare a draft of their constitutional demands. The Hindus were now anxious to present a united memorandum and were not in a mood to alienate at any cost, the sympathy and co-operation of the Moslems. The latter, however, had more of communal than national interest to think of. At the psychological moment, they introduced the bargain that they would not give their assent to the joint manifesto if the principle of communal representation was not accepted by the Hindus. The latter now thought discretion the better part of valour and yielded to the Moslem pressure. This was, however, a fatal step taken by the Hindus at a weak moment. The concession now granted provided for a peculiar method of minority representation. A voter, to all intents and purposes, is a political animal. His importance in the State is to be judged by the ardour with which he maintains a political principle or an economic doctrine. It matters little, in the eyes of the State, whether he is a Mahomedan or a Hindu, a Protestant or a Roman Catholic. But it matters a good deal as to whether he is a moderate or an extremist, a free trader or a protectionist, a capitalist or a socialist. The system of communal electorate and representation, however, only emphasises the voter's religious character. It attaches no importance to his being a tenant or a Zemindar, a mill-owner or a labourite, a timid conservative or a go-ahead liberal. This special representation in fact whittles down everything that connects the voter with the State and brings into prominence everything that binds him to his religion and community. In fact, by only emphasising the voter's religious complexion, this system of representation suppresses the innumerable vital ties of unity between members of diverse communities and only fosters the difference and broadens the gulf between them. It is a truism that all the communal troubles to-day have their genesis in this separate representation. By magnifying the communal colour, it has introduced a sort of communal and religious aggressiveness among our people.

As soon as this principle is replaced by the joint-electorate system, the forces of separatism would be exercised and the motive-force of economic interest and political faith will assert itself. The Hindus and the Mussalmans have to live side by side. As producers and consumers, as buyers and sellers, all their every-day interests are bound together by unassailable ties. They do not occupy widely separate geographical areas as to enable one to do without the other. Their lot has been cast together and they have to develop arm in arm organically and homogeneously.

NARESHCHANDRA RAY

DIANA'S GIFT

One night within an ilex grove,
Diana found her shepherd love,
And sought by all her amorous art,
To soothe his fierce, rebellious heart—
For long the days, and long the nights,
Since she had brought him love's delights.

Within the grove sweet Philomel
Was casting his bewitching spell,
And dreaming flowers trembling hung,
Enraptured on his angel tongue!
The sylvan stream, the moon-lit grove,
And all the world seemed sick of Love.

No silver stars within the skies
Were half so bright as Dian's eyes,
As she stooped o'er, with love confest,
To clasp Endymion to her breast;
His beauty seemed of hers a part,
As he lay held close to her heart.

"Oh, Love, dear Love, thy ire give o'er,
I could not come to thee before,
For duty chained me to my sphere—
I could not be both here and there!
But now I bring a gift to thee,
To keep thy mind on love and me.

"Within my kingdom of the Moon—
Where I, alas, must go so soon,—
There blooms a flow'r, so sweet, so rare,
It perfumes all the silver air;
A star within a star it seems,
As pure and white as angel dreams!

It blows in beauty all the night,
And soft enfolds when comes the light;
For chaste the flow'r, too frail and fair
To live within the noon-tide's glare.
It blooms alone for love of me,
And now I share my gift with thee.

Alone with thee, as I now share
All of myself, as chaste and fair!
Cursed was the youth whose lustful eye,
Did once Diana's charms espy—
But all to thee, my shepherd lad,
I give with heart and soul so glad!"

Endymion forgot his grief,
In raptured hour, which was too brief!
And round about their bower to twine,
There sprang from out the mould a vine,
Which grew and grew, and flowers white,
Filled all the weald with mystic light!

Flowers as fair as Dian's breast,
Sweet as the love she there confest;
As haunting as her love-filled eyes,
That rivalled stars within the skies!
Thus to the earth a royal dow'r,
Was given in Dian's Moon-Flow'r.

TERESA STRICKLAND

EDUCATIONAL RECOVERY OF GERMANY AND INDIA

I

"The total number of German students enrolled in German universities during the Winter Semester of 1925-1926 was 82,602 which is 13,000 more than were registered during the pre-war period and respectively 1 and 4 per cent. more than the number matriculated during the two previous semesters." The number of women students registered in German Universities during the Winter Semester of 1925-1926 was 6,983. During the previous semester, their number was 6,923.

At the present time there is a general tendency among German University students, to think less of Theology, and thus the number of theological students, both Protestants and Catholics, has decreased. There has been a decrease also in number of students of Chemistry, Pharmacy, and Political Economy. There had been marked increase in the ranks of students devoting themselves to Dentistry, Veterinary Medicine, technical subjects as well as Philology. *The total number of medical students during the Winter Semester of 1925-1926, in German Universities, was 6,438.* This shows that the German nation has recovered educationally from the set-back it received during the World War and the years following it. *The German nation as a whole to-day is more keenly interested in elevating the status of its national health, technical and industrial efficiency and the possibility of greater activity in Foreign Relations and Foreign Commerce than ever before.* This is distinctly evident from the educational activities favoured by the German University students.

II

It is also noteworthy that the death-rate in Germany is decreasing and population is increasing. Universal sports are taking the place of universal military training ; and Germany will have more efficient medical men and women to serve the nation. If Germany is to recover her former position in the field of industry and international commerce, it. is imperative that she must have better trained industrialists and salesmen, who will excel those of other nations in technical efficiency, industrial organisation, and capturing foreign markets. To meet these requirements, the German Universities are going to turn out large number of technical men and industrialists who can speak the languages of the peoples whose markets they wish to capture. To-day more German students are engaged in gaining proficiency in Russian, Spanish, Chinese, Japanese, English, Italian, Persian, Turkish as well as Hindustanee than ever before.

III

Let us compare the present educational condition and facilities for higher education in India with the existing condition in Germany. First of all we have to admit that the educational standard, including curriculum and efficiency in high schools and universities of India is lower than those of Germany. For this drawback, the British Government in India, Indian politicians, educators, and general public are to blame. If the Government authorities in India refuse to raise the standard of education in Indian Universities, then it is high time that private Universities like the Hindu University, the Aligarh University and others should take the leadership in this matter.

Secondly, India has a population about five times as large as that of Germany. If the educational standard of Indian Universities were equal to that of German Universities, there should have been at least 400,000 students in Indian Universities ; and the number of women students in Indian Universities would have been about 28,000. It is safe to say that it is not the case.

Thirdly, the death-rate in India is about double the rate in Germany. Germany is not infested with the preventable diseases such as Malaria, Plague, etc., as is India. The need of medical education in India is far greater than that of any other civilised country. No Indian politician should forget that the British Indian Gevernment claims that as there are not sufficient medical men and women in India, it cannot change its "opium policy" and it now allows practically unrestricted sale of opium, which is a government monopoly, and opposes the policy of restriction of production of opium to medicinal and scientific purposes. The British Government contends that Indian masses should have the privilege of using opium, "as household medicine for ailments" because there are not enough doctors in India to look after the general well-being of the people. Supposing that the need of medical men and women for the people of India is equal to the need of the German people, then there should be at least 32,000 or more medical students in Indian medical colleges. Alas, there are not even 3,200 medical students in Indian Universities.

Fourthly, in Indian Universities the number of students, who are pursuing studies in technical subjects and philology, should be five times of those in German Universities. Undoubtedly that is not the case. India is lagging far behind Germany in the field of educational progress of the land, and apparently no effort is being made to raise India's position through educational achievements. There was a time when the Indian Universities used to attract students from Greece, Arabia, Persia, China, Japan and other lands ; and Indian scholars bore the torch of enlightenment in various parts of the world, even to Siberia. To the misfortune of the Indian people, to-day the Indian Universities have not the adequate facilities for the education of young men and women of India and those from Greater India. Indian Universities of to-day lack proper equipment for training large number of students in technical branches, medicine and foreign languages. Steps should be taken to remedy the deplorable condition.

IV

The fame of German Universities always drew students from foreign lands. For the purpose of specialising in various branches of art, science and literature, students from America, England, France, Italy and other lands used to come to Germany. In the past, German Universities educated Russians, Poles, Czechs and others who did not have opportunity in their own lands. During the Winter Semester of 1925-1926, the number of foreign students in German Universities and polytechnic schools was 7,804. But during the previous semester, the number was 8,597. This drop in the number of foreign students in Germany has attracted the attention of German educators and statesmen who rightly regard that foreign students should be encouraged to come to German Universities to continue their study and research work. Foreign students are great assets, as they serve as special medium to spread German culture and may be utilised as agencies to promote German cultural, commercial as well as political interests. Germany welcomes foreign students, particularly those from the Orient; and it is probable that in future there will be some special provisions made to attract most deserving scholars from the Orient to German Universities.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that the "*Budget Commission of the Reichstag has just voted a credit of 500,000 Marks (about Rs. 375,000) for the erection of a building for the reception of foreign scholars who come to work in Berlin.*"

Although for the promotion of the best interest of India, a large number of well-selected and most efficient students should come to Germany to study, the number of Indian students in German Universities is even less than those from Turkey, Japan and China. It is generally regarded that the Government of India discourages Indian scholars from going to Germany or America, by giving special preference to those who are educated in British Universities. Then again there is the language difficulty, as Indian Universities do not require Indian students to learn the German language. If India is to establish cultural, commercial as well as political contact with other nations, then Indian University students should be encouraged to study foreign languages; and German, French, Spanish, Russian, Chinese and Japanese should receive special attention. It may be contended that India cannot afford to send a large number of students to foreign lands, especially to Germany for economic reasons. This fact makes it imperative that Indian educators and professors should devise means to send selected scholars and educators to German Universities. It seems to me that with proper initiative and interest on the part of Indian University authorities, a system of exchange of professors and students between German and Indian Universities can be inaugurated.

India has much to learn from the western institutions of learning. German Universities afford a great deal of opportunity for Indian scholars; and Germany extends hearty welcome to all foreign students. Let us hope that through exchange of professors and students between Germany and India there will be closer understanding between these two nations and this will pave the way for co-operation between the East and West on the basis of equality and amity.

TARAKNATH DAS

EDUCATIONAL REFORM IN BENGAL

It is my pleasant duty as Chairman of the Reception Committee of this Conference to extend to you all a most cordial welcome. The reception that we can give you is indeed of a most humble character—but permit me to say, it seeks to make amends for paucity of arrangement by an abundance of warmth. For, gentlemen, this Conference is a meeting-ground of comrades-in-arms, holy crusaders engaged in a common fight against the forces of reaction and obscurantist medievalism in the domain of Education. We all suffer under the same disabilities : we all are inspired by the same ideals of progress : we are a freemasonry. And thus, whatever else may be wanting, one thing that we do not lack, that we *may not* lack, is the spirit of brotherliness and love.

You will pardon me and bear with me if I am tempted to utilise this opportunity to stress certain problems connected with education in Bengal. I speak open to correction but I have over twenty years of experience as college teacher and public worker and flatter myself I am in a position to raise the ghost though possibly not to lay it.

The present system of university education has had its origin in the exigencies of the administrative system imported into this country by the Britisher and it is universally admitted to-day that it has outlived its usefulness. The problem to-day is no longer to train up merely efficient tools of the administrative machinery but to breed men of light, of culture, of character, of business ability, of initiative and of courage in all departments of activity. The country demands of us youthful minds, active and alive at many points, with a practical outlook, with freshness of idea, bent upon social service and fitted not only to earn a living for themselves but to push on national progress with intrepid spirit and fearless zeal. The entire *ideology* behind our University system has got to be altered, old fetishes have to be abandoned, a new *vital* atmosphere has to be created. I do not belong to the company of those happy persons who delight in believing that a mere change of Executive or *personnel* in the University of Calcutta can rid it of its defects and abuses. I am a root-and-branch reformer and all my life I have disbelieved in cobbling and patching as a cure for social and educational wrongs. We must begin at the foundations and dig up from the base.

And first, the inordinate homage paid to English Language and Literature as the *sine qua non* of high education, as the only possible medium of instruction in Art and Science, should make room for a saner, a larger view. A proficiency in the English Language has hitherto been the hall-mark of high culture in this country, as up till very recently it was considered a sign of aristocratic respectability to dress in English clothes. Such a mentality is what is really slave mentality—a mentality, the tragedy of which is writ large on its face, which disdains the use and cultivation of the mother-tongue and prefaces every such use with an apology. The tongue in which Shakespeare and Milton spoke and wrote, a tongue which is used over half the globe, is certainly deserving of all serious respect—but as an organ of culture and a medium of instruction, the tongue of Chandidas, of Kavikankan, of Kasiram and Krittivas, of Michael, of Bankim Chandra, of Hem Chandra and Nabin Sen, of Dinabandhu, Giris and Amritalal, and Rabindranath, Satyen Dutt and Sarat Chatterji, is certainly not to be brushed aside! The late Asutosh Mookerjee of revered memory succeeded in placing the mother in the step-mother's hall: we have got to place her in that position of pre-eminence which is hers by the prescriptions of nature and the canons of civilised races. *Bengali must be our first language: English is to be the second: both compulsory, but each in its place.*

Once this principle is conceded (and now-a-days it is conceded *in the abstract* by men in the highest positions of dignity and trust), and suitable arrangements are made for the intensive study of our own language, the cause of real education will receive an impetus hitherto undreamt of. Now-a-days 90 per cent. of the energies of our students are engrossed in the difficult task of grappling with the intricacies of a tongue whose grammar and idiom have very little in common with ours: the teaching is often unreal and the learning perfunctory. I have known of students of abstract subjects like Logic and Philosophy, who have passed their examination in these subjects, being sadly perplexed when asked to explain certain fundamental notions in their own tongue: I have known of students who have read Addison, Shakespeare and Milton, thoroughly impervious to the subtle harmonies of the mellifluous English tongue: such instruction does not stick: it does not become a healer and comforter: it is not worked up into the blood and bones. And it produces hybrid and weak intellects enslaved by mere phrases and catch-words, moving about in worlds of befogged fancy unrelated to fact and reality. It is responsible for much of the unbalanced idealism which is so rampant to-day, which tilts against windmills with weapons of lath and plaster, which seeks to push the country's intellectual and political frontiers by tricksy, short-cut processes.

As education in Bengal must be freed from the clutches of language-slavery, it must also be freed from the domination of party-politics. Education and the ends of culture can prosper only in a serene spacious atmosphere of large purposes and big ends—the blighting blasts of passing political passion and prejudice can only choke their growth. So far as I understand the problem, the University should strenuously fight to maintain its integrity and individuality, it should refuse to be a wing of the Governmental Secretariat and as solidly refuse to be a draggle-tail body, an appendage to any of the dominating caucuses of party politicians. Our ends are higher than those of mere politics—much higher indeed than the demands of administrative convenience. The filling of human brains with useful knowledge, the stimulation of intellectual curiosity, the progressive conquest of the hidden forces of nature and mind, the progressive unification of the strands of different civilisations and culture—these are the ends of any University worth the name: and these are self-sufficient ends, realisable by groups ardently and intelligently devoted to them through generations, serenely zealous of their time-honoured privileges and thankful for their opportunities of disinterested service.

The courses of study have also to be reshuffled and re-adjusted. The bifurcation of Art and science, in any humble opinion, should begin only in the degree stage and in this respect the courses in the old Regulations were much better framed. Specialisation at an early stage spells narrowness; it is only a liberalised understanding that has undergone training in the elements of Geography, History, Mathematics and Physical Science that will be best fitted to delve deep in the secrets of antiquity or nature: other processes lead often to scissors-and-paste research, a patch-work of make-believes, to a stringing together of data on insufficient testimony, to hasty and hazardous conclusions.

In the degree courses also there should be a happier correlation of subjects intimately associated with each other and not a haphazard combination like Economics and Sanskrit, Botany and History. In the pass degree there should be more of modern English than of 16th or 17th century English Literature. The Honours Course might conveniently concentrate on one subject with select readings from allied subjects.

All this, however, would be useless without the basis of university education being strengthened. Our secondary schools are a standing testimony of inefficiency—ill-housed, ill-equipped, ill-managed, ridden by village factions and browbeaten by Departmental agents. The standard of teaching—not only the teaching of English—has to be raised; but the whole system has to be re-organised, to relate it to agriculture, to village arts and crafts, to the end of village reconstruction in education, sanitation, diversion, to the greater utilisation of rural talent and enriching of the country-side. Manual and vocational training is essential: an instruction which neglects to train the organs of sense and seeks to. develop the memory only is self-condemned.

I trust, in the near future, with a teacher as Vice-Chancellor, it will be possible to create a Body of independent men who will seek not to improve our struggling schools (the only rays of light scattered over wide areas of dim and murky ignorance) out of existence by summary regulation and code but to guide, finance and consolidate them for purposes of national well-being.

There are two more insistent problems to which I want to draw your special attention. One is the urgency of immediate provision for compulsory physical education in the schools, and for compulsory military training in the colleges. Another is the bringing of higher culture and scientific research into fruitful relation with the intellectual and moral advancement of the masses and the turning of the abundant raw materials of the country into finished products. It is an open secret that the Departments of Applied Science in our University so ably staffed by ardent and distinguished workers are yet languishing for want of encouragement and financial support and while Bengal's contribution in the domain of the theories of both pure and applied science has been during the last decade simply marvellous, she has not been able to give a good account of herself in the practical arts. So also with the study of Economics—which has been more or less sterile by being cut off from the nourshing breasts of the country at large. Provision should be made for teachers and students of Economics touring in village areas, studying conditions of living, of wages, of income, of expenditure and saving, of land tenures, of the prevailing arts and crafts and thus an economic history of the whole country might be reconstructed on which new forces of sympathy and beneficent legislation might play.

Turning to Physical Education, owing to malnutrition and spread of disease, the physique of our boys and young men is steadily deteriorating : a woeful neglect of the laws of health and the lack of cheerful physical exercise are worsening the evil. The Students' Welfare Committee is doing useful work ; but its work, by the nature of the case, is mostly of a negative character. A wide-spread campaign should be launched immediately for bringing home to the country the essential need of a physical training in the schools supplemented by military training in the colleges. The Government should be manfully asked to set aside its attitude of 'wait and see' and help an emasculated people back to virile manhood. What is the use of our education, the recipients of which cannot use their limbs in defence of cherished privileges, in defence of the chastity of their women and the sanctity of their homes ? This question is, to my mind, the question of questions to-day : so far as I can read the signs of the times, the days are gone of spectacled scholars living on sago and milk and consuming the midnight oil in metaphysical studies. *Pax Britannica* is no longer a charmed amulet to scare away the phantoms of disorder—the days are on us when men of braced understandings must be also men of braced sinews and where mind and body must co-operate to re-establish social order and security.

I might here dilate on certain other features of our college system, *e.g.*, the compulsory attendance at lectures or the mass-lecturing, both of which are to my mind obsolete institutions or ought to be : I might refer to the necessity of an oral test, as a corrective to the cramming inevitably encouraged by written examinations ; I might refer to the necessity of starting really active College Unions, for free debate and discussion as also for social service work ; I might refer to the necessity of greater co-operation between the different colleges by arrangements for inter-change of lectures, for common teaching, wher ever possible, in certain branches. I might dilate on better facilities being arranged for residence at close quarters of teacher and learner. But I do not propose to deal with these things at this stage. Sufficient unto the day are the evils thereof.

Our Association is an association of seekers after truth—who, by the very constitution of the present order of things, are wage-earning toilers. We are of the great fraternity of the world's common toilers. We are all workers, whether we work by the brain or the hand or both. We have a right to live. We have a right to be provided against sickness, accident, the infirmities of old age and as most of us have not taken upon ourselves the self-denying ordinance of celibacy, we demand that the community provide for adequate food and clothing and shelter for our families. The community in turn may demand of us and rightfully too, that we live a life of plain simplicity and strenuous ideals, that we always seek to give more than we receive. We are not exactly a trade-union : for teaching is not a trade but a holy calling, but even thus unless we band ourselves and develop a group-psychology and a capacity for group action, we cannot get our natural rights inside the University and the colleges, where we have cast our anchors for life.

And now, without any further strain upon your patience, I beg to introduce to you the elected President of this second session of our conference. Professor Radhakrishnan indeed hardly needs any introduction in an assembly of scholars : he has acquired international reputation as an acute student of Philosophy and a brilliant expositor of Indian Philosophy. What is more, he has given us a very fascinating elaboration of the Philosophy of our national poet Rabindranath : his recent lectures in England and America have been a crying advertisement for our Alma Mater, the University of Calcutta. He is a South Indian—but he has made Bengal the country of his adoption and he cherishes deeply the affection in which intellectual Bengal holds him. He has no burden of title or honours except such as are purely academic : he is a commoner of commoners on out-look and habit. I venture to hope he will be able to make new worlds of experience "swim into our ken" and sweep our horizons : his philosophic mind is a guarantee of well-balanced views ; and his sweetness and light impel the hope that he will be able to close our ranks with the only ligature that binds—that of love.

I bid him welcome in your name in all sincerity: I assure him in your name of our unfailing good-will. And I make bold to hope that a Conference pioneered by men like Acharya Prafulla Chandra Roy and Giris Chandra Bose will have an increasing career of usefulness under the pilotage of a tried man and true like Professor Radhakrishnan. May the Giver of all good bless our endeavours and fill our minds with fear of God and love of men! BANDE MATARAM![1]

NRIPENDRA CHANDRA BANERJI

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[1] Address delivered as Chairman of the Reception Committee, All Bengal College and University Teachers' Conference, Second Session, Calcutta, April 3, 1927.

A SONG OF SERVICE

The rootlet quivered in the ground
Beneath the stress of birth,
And communed with an aged root
Attunèd with the earth:
'I know my pain, I know my grief,
O, whither is the mirth?

'Lo, all my budding ecstasy
Is stifled in the mould,
The Beauty I had hoped to live
Is hidden fold on fold,
And Life's full wave pent-up in grave
Of barrenness and cold.

'I hear you croon, I hear you sing
Of raptures from above,
And a tremor of thrills your quiet fills,
Branch-stirred by wind and dove:
I cannot see how Solitude
Can sing the song of Love.

'Each unseen leaf of you that springs
Can kiss the Sun and Moon:
It knows the colours of the birds,
The splendour of the noon,
And plays to every changing breeze
An ever-changing tune.

'But we are both chained down below,
I too will be a root:
We may not live the upward grace
Of the greenly-budded shoot,
Nor share the radiant rapture of
Our very flowers and fruit.'

But the aged root loud laughed and shook
Its fibres to the grain:
'*We must not weigh the Spirit in*
The scales of Loss and Gain,
For the rapture of the soul is born
Out of the womb of Pain.

'When you have learnt Love's sacrifice
In a life-unfolding throe,
And felt throughout your mother-heart
The call that mothers know,
You too will give your very life
And joy that it is so.

'For every throb of life that flings
Your beauty on the air,
Will sing the song of Service still,
Of tender-hearted care,
And your love beneath will blazon forth
In blossoms everywhere.

'And though both rain and sun may steep
Their glory to the view,
They may not drink their life-blood yet
From sun or rain or dew,
Until it has been transmuted
By all the Love in you.

‘ And when your grandeur is attained
Of fruited bough complete,
The ripeness of each hanging fruit
Is your full-flushed heart-beat,
And, though it hangs against the sky,
Does homage at your feet.

‘ The nestlings that your branches know
Are part of the mothering tree,
For your mother-heart embraces all
Although it cannot see,
Each feathered bliss, each speckled throat,
Each love-fed infancy.

‘And though your sphere be hidden from
Where leaves and flowers fade,
Your spirit’s constant interplay—
Will know when they are dead,—
And mourn for them with Grief that is
Through Spring-Faith unafraid.

‘ The very sod above your head
Is discipline of Life :
There is nor Grace nor Glory won
But is achieved with strife :
It is the hardness of the stone
That whets the finest knife.

‘ And learn of me the lesson that
The ages still have proved :
Giver and Giving are greater than
Who by that gift is moved,
And everywhere the Lover than
The one who is Beloved.’

SANKARA KRISHNA CHETTUR

THE UTKAL AND ODRA TRIBES

We often meet with the names of the above-mentioned tribes in the Puranas, but we know nothing as to their identity. In the modern Tamil language the word Okkal signifies a cultivator of the soil while the same is called Oḍisu in the modern Kanarese language. The readers will bear in mind that both the languages, Tamil and Kanarese, have sprung from one and the same Dravidian language. It may, therefore, be supposed that in the original Dravidian language the cultivator of the soil must have been called by both the names, Okkal and Oḍisu. We learn from epigraphic records that in ancient times there was a tribe all over Orissa, being designated as Oḍesa (*vide*, Soḍesasatantubay, etc., Plate B of Dandi Mahadevi, edited by Kielhorn. E. I. vol. VI p. 140; Soḍesasatantubay, etc., Grant of Jayastambha Deva, edited by Mahamahopadhya Doctor Haraprasad Sastri. J.B,O.R.S., pp. 405-409).

The Dravidian root Uḍu, signifying to plough, is still in use in the Oriya language in the same significance. For instance, the Oriya term Oḍe as in the sentence, 'Jami oḍe helani' (the field has been ploughed once), may be cited here. Again, in southern Orissa there is a class of cultivators who call themselves 'Oḍa chasa' or 'Oḍa tasa.' From their totem names as well as from their social customs and manners the 'Oḍa chasas' may be supposed to have belonged to Dravidian race in ancient time. They may, therefore, be identified with the Oḍesas of epigraphic records. In that case it may unhesitatingly be said that they must have been called Okkala as well as Oḍisu in the Dravidian language in ancient times. Hence the Sanskrit names, Utkala and Odra, are supposed to have been coined from these Dravidian words, Okkala and Oḍisu respectively. In support of this supposition I may mention here that Ukkala, the name of a village in the Madras Presidency, has been written as Utkala in Grant no. 8 while the same has remained orthographically unchanged in other grants of Krishna Raja III (*vide*, South Indian Inscriptions, Part III).

BINAYAK MISRA

EMPIRIC FAITH

There are certain persistent problems of thought, and the existence and nature of God (or some form of supernatural being) is one such problem. The human mind in its attempt to grapple with the deepest problems of life and the supremest principle of being has not failed to try its different faculties of apprehension to arrive at personal satisfaction and at objective truth. Intuition and Feeling, Reason and Understanding, Faith and Will to Believe fairly cover the affective, cognitive and conative attempts of the human mind to realise the presence of God. Even Ignorance and Incapacity have been occasionally pressed into this service and the belief in God has been thought to rest on such facts as man does not know or cannot achieve.

So much for the philosophers. But when one turns to the actual beliefs of man one is surprised to note what a considerable part the sensuous faculty plays in the matter of religious conviction. While philosophers have broken one another's head over the question as to how exactly God is known—whether as a positive or negative Infinite, or as an Unconditioned, or as the Absolute, or as an impersonal Consciousness, or as a Personality, or as a limited Deity, or as an omnipotent Creator, or as a transcendent Spectator of the world-drama, or as a moral Governor,—the founders of religion, though not unmindful of some of these aspects, have put their emphasis upon the sensuous aspect of divinity and sought to secure support for faith by appealing to the sensuous faculty of man, which, to all but the professional philosophers, is still the most indubitable aspect of our mental life. The warmth of certainty always clings to our sensations (why else should empiricists and hedonists be so hard to overthrow?), while reasoning and faith have a vagueness and uncertainty about them which fail to attract the unthinking laity. Thus, though reason should refuse to acknowledge certain sensuous facts as relevant, the religious feeling, which at no time gets rid of unreason completely, clings to them tenaciously as parts of the creed and puts as much credence in the mass of empiric legends, traditions and dogmas as in the ethical and spiritual elements proper. Opportunities are thus provided for later schisms, criticisms and superstitions according to different temperaments. Positive religions, by accepting these sensuous facts, always keep themselves below the level of philosophy of religion and provide that basis for emotional attitude which no philosophy of religion ever effectively supplies.

The nature of Divinity is, as is natural, the first problem of all positive religions. Besides the fundamental problem as to whether Divinity is to be conceived as unitary or plural (or non-existent), there is the further problem as to whether it has or has not any form and how it makes its existence or presence felt. Polytheism or polydaemonism appears in a variety of forms, believing in the manifestation of unseen powers through natural forces like the sun, wind, water, etc., (the Vedic type), or through human forms (the Greek and Pauranic types), or through visible symbols of any kind, inorganic, organic or conscious (idolatry). The worship partakes of the nature of divinity, and materials of sensuous enjoyment—food, water, flowers, incense, raiments, ornaments, etc,—are offered to the gods in keeping with their supposed nature. Stones, trees, animals and men may all receive worship in this way as actual gods or as symbols of divinity: they become sensuous representations of godhead and receive divine homage. The doctrine of Incarnation falls within the same category and, in fact, all theories that attempt to bring a far-off god into the realities of worldly existence by means of a tangible symbol. As a matter of fact, there is a close relation between Pantheism, Hylozoism, Animism and Universal

Symbolism, because if All is God, there is no reason why the visible symbol of the ultimate principle should be limited only to the conscious type and not extend to all grades of being without any exception. In this way Hinduism found justification for idolatry in Pantheism itself which tended at first to desensualise and even depersonalise the Absolute.

But the obvious spatial and dynamic limitations of a sensuous god have led monotheistic creeds to reject such a conception, although, as will be seen later, this has not led them also to reject empiric evidences altogether. How to conceive God as at once formless and personal has sorely taxed the ingenuity of monotheistic creeds (especially when the matter is complicated by trinitarian conceptions), and agnostics like Haeckel have not failed to point out that the God of monotheistic religion is a 'gaseous vertebrate' who fills space intangibly but thinks and acts like a man, whether man is regarded in the image of God or God is regarded as man immensely magnified. It is evident that no positive religion has been able to adhere strictly to the disembodied spirituality of godhead or dispense with its sensuous manifestation. It is the amount of emphasis upon this aspect that distinguishes one religion from another, and the emphasis has varied according to historic tradition, contemporary culture and cultural contact with other races and creeds.

Judaism, for instance, could not maintain a consistently spiritualistic conception of God in the course of its fairly long history. In the oldest tradition of the Bible, as D'Alviella points out, God is represented quite anthropomorphically. "Yahveh moulds man like a potter; he plants the garden of Eden and walks through it in the cool of the evening like a rich Mesopotamian. Adam hears his foot-steps. He comes down from heaven to see the building of the Tower of Babel. He eats and drinks with Abraham, and the latter washes his feet. He struggles with Jacob and allows himself to be overcome."[1] Judaism lapsed into idolatry more than once in spite of vehement prophetic denunciations, and molten and graven images, not only of Dagon and Baal, but of Yahveh himself were not unknown. To quote Kuenen : "The images of Yahveh which adorned most of the bâmoth as well as the temples at Dan and Bethel, imply that the ideas men had of him were crude and material in the extreme. Of the religious solemnities we know little, but enough to assert with confidence that they embodied anything but spiritual conceptions. Wanton license on the one hand, and the terror-stricken attempt to propitiate the deity with human sacrifices on the other, were the two extremes into which the worshippers of Yahveh appear by no means exceptionally to have fallen." Again, the old records make it probable that the ephod (which was latterly used to designate a cape which the priests assumed when approaching the deity to learn his will) was an image of Yahveh, silvered or gilt over, and perhaps so constructed that the lots (by means of which the will of Yahveh was ascertained) could be concealed within it." Nay, the offerings made by the Gentiles to their gods Yahveh appropriated as pure offerings made to him and he declared that the Gentiles worshipped the sun, the moon and the stars by his dispensation,—a view with which may be compared the Quranic position that no soul can believe but by the permission of God.

Though both Christianity and Islam tried to minimise the sensuous elements of faith and to develop a purely ethical monotheism, they were severely handicapped by Jewish traditions and could not entirely get over the empirical element. The creation of man after divine image was not always understood as a pure metaphor for spiritual kinship and affinity, and very probably roused in ordinary minds the picture of an old benevolent bearded gentleman in flowing dress engaged in the task of creating man out of dust or clay or clots of blood. Similarly, seeing the face of God was not often interpreted spiritually as the realisation of one's oneness with God but rather regarded as meeting him either as seated on his throne,—as to the exact nature of which the Moslem divines were put to sore trouble, *viz.*, whether it was sensuous and co-eternal with God, whether God really touched it, and whether it could be really borne aloft by eight angels admittedly weaker than God whom they bore,—or in the cool shades of heaven as at a garden party. No wonder some Islamic sects were inclined towards anthropomorphism to some extent.

But although the Semitic creeds fought shy of the visual presence of God in human form they had no objection to some other types of sensuous manifestation. Although God declares that Moses shall behold the form of the Lord, he prefers to appear before him not in his proper form but through earthly symbols and phenomena,—sometimes as a burning bush that is not consumed, sometimes as a pillar of cloud by day and a column of fire by night, and sometimes in the form of what is vaguely described as the glory,—things which all men could behold. The Quran also quotes with approval these Mosaic tales. But soon the theory was propounded that no man could see the face of God and yet live, and a distinction was also drawn between the favoured prophets and the initiated priests on the one hand, and the ordinary laity on the other, lest the latter 'break through unto the Lord and many of them perish'. The privilege of going into the *sanctum sanctorum* the priests of almost all religions have reserved to themselves in some form or other, and they have always insisted upon an imposing initiatory ceremony to keep up their own exclusive greatness. If, however, the direct vision of the Lord is denied to all without exception now, faith still rears itself on the empiric evidence of men of bygone ages who claimed to have seen the Lord; for is not the other alternative a frank non-acceptance of revelation through sensuous media and the possibility of scepticism?

Christianity, after a certain amount of dallying with Judaic conceptions about creation after the image of God and the angels, steered generally clear of corporeality and anthropomorphism, but not altogether. The trinitarian conception and the begetting of the only son were so unpalatable that Islam denounced them whenever an opportunity occurred. The description of the heavenly Jerusalem was nothing but a crude poetic fantasy in no way distinguishable from Judaic accounts, as in Daniel and Ezekiel. But the crudest sensuous phenomena are those connected with the initiation of the missionary activities of Christ and his Apostles. The Spirit of God has a rather spectacular way of approving of these activities : once it descends in the form of a dove on Christ himself and again it comes down on each of the Apostles in the form of a tongue of fire. Was the dove symbolic of the mission of peace which Jesus came to fulfil and were the tongues of fire meant to give utterance unto his disciples, or are both descriptions purely collective hallucinations?

A God that does not act in a spectacular way, either on his own initiative or on the intercession of a prophet or a messiah, soon loses his hold on the popular imagination. Moral government by overt rewards and punishments and miracles are the two main pillars of positive faith. Just remember what a great part of the Jewish belief is dependent upon God's sensuous dealings with the delinquent. He must hurl thunder and lightning, rain down fire and brimstone, send deluge, death or evil diseases, and visit the unbeliever and the iniquitous with all the dire calamities mentioned in Deuteronomy, xxviii, 15-68, to convince the people that he meant to be obeyed. A jealous God that he repeatedly proclaims himself to be, he warns them of (and actually inflicts upon them) not an uncomfortable future life (which was not sensuously apprehensible in this) but punishments which they could feel here on earth—the sword, the famine, the pestilence, the destruction of Jerusalem, loss of freedom, exile into a foreign land, and such other convincing empiric punishments. To the enemies of Israel also he deals with equal clearness his empiric vengeance—plagues of all types, death, destruction and discomfiture. Ever since he established his covenant with Noah and his family and with all living beings by the sign of the rainbow he never forgets to use a sensuous miracle or sign as the credentials of his power and intention,—nay, he volunteers to show a sign to Ahaz, *viz.*, the immaculate conception, even though the latter would not ask for any. No wonder Isaiah should say: "Behold, I and the children whom the Lord hath given me are for signs and for wonders in Israel from the Lord of hosts, which dwelleth in mount Zion." There can be no doubt that the empiric verification of divine wrath and divine mercy was a potent cause of belief and that the prophets made a good use of this instrument of faith when delivering their diatribes against idolatrous relapses.

The Quran too quotes with approval some of the Mosaic miracles and the divine chastisement upon the Pharaoh, and gives a more glowing picture of the resurrection, the heaven and the hell. It agrees with the Old Testament that the prophets rehearse to their fellow-men the signs of God and consigns those who treat these as lies to the hell-fire. It repeats the stories of Noah, Lot, Jonah, Job and Moses, invents new stories about David and Solomon, and adds stories of its own regarding Houd, Saleh and Sho'aib and points to the moral that disbelief in these prophets was promptly followed by the empiric taste of the sword, the earthquake and the rain. It promises to the believer the empiric joys of heaven and metes out to the unbeliever and the apostate not only a sword on earth but also a terrible fire in hell. In all ages the unbelievers have challenged the believers to show signs and, whether to establish their own truthfulness or to reveal the glory of God, the latter have been obliged to tempt God, though not always in vain, to show miracles, signs and wonders to prove that he really exists. A refreshingly higher note is occasionally struck by the Quran, however, when it points to the commonplace objects of daily experience, and not to the rare and the miraculous, as signs of divine presence; for if the former are not sufficient to convince people of the existence of God, the latter would be branded as fables of the ancients, magical feats and lies.

Does a formless God require any permanent residence, and to an omnipotent Presence is there any distinction between one place and another so far as sanctity is concerned? Not as a matter of theory, but as a matter of practice, the belief is, however, widespread. In almost all religions a special holiness has been attached to certain places, and these have become objects of pilgrimage to the faithful. Some religions have gone further and have invested certain objects with special holiness as symbols of divinity. Primitive animism, if it be the religious counterpart of philosophical hylozoism, is the most liberal creed in one sense and squares easily with pantheism in looking upon all natural objects as equally sacred. But fetishism, totemism and idolatry raise some objects to the dignity of gods to the exclusion or neglect of the rest. A visible symbol, standing out prominently in the midst of commonplace objects by virtue of some objective peculiarity or some subjective feeling, serves to concentrate attention and becomes the locus of divine worship or superstitious veneration. The setting and the materials of worship naturally become sensuous in keeping with the sensuous nature of godhead; the precincts of the god acquire an artificial sanctity, and men and things associated with his worship come to be looked upon with religious awe or superstitious veneration ; and when permanent images are set up, pilgrimage and priestcraft take their rise. Idolatry may, therefore, be regarded as a kind of radical empiricism in religion in which all spiritual facts are converted into sensuous symbols.

So innate is this tendency of the religious mind that even professedly anti-idolatrous religions have not been able to get rid of visible symbols. In Judaism, temporary visions of the Lord in fire, thunder, sound and smoke were soon replaced by the more permanent ark of the covenant which received divine homage (and before which the image of Dagon fell on its face), and, soon after, images of Yahveh made their appearance. In spite of his misgivings, Solomon set up the first fixed house of worship in preference to high places, where hitherto sacrifices had been made and incenses burnt (was it because heaven was supposed to be nearer to a high place than to the plains?), and set a fashion among the Semitic races which has persisted down to the present time : nay, we are told in Ezekiel that the outer gate of the sanctuary to the east of the temple God chose for entry and commanded to be shut for all times against human entrance (just as, for instance, God chose the sabbath for rest because he completed the act of creation on that day). There is really, however, no sanctity anywhere unless there is behind it a will to believe, and different religions have fastened upon different symbols of respect and adoration according to their degrees of culture and their historical traditions. It is what we put into a symbol that makes it sacred or profane, and this is why the most sacred object of one set of people may be the vilest abomination to another. Desecration of their own place of worship is still a profanation to those who will not have a god with any form and who will not have the slightest hesitation in smashing a consecrated image of another faith, as if God would be dislodged if the former were defiled and as if the latter is a spiritual vacuum where God can never be. God is either everywhere or nowhere if the earth is veritably his footstool. And, similarly, every day is equally holy with the sabbath. God has no reason to sanctify either a particular place or a particular time, just as he has no reason to sanctify a particular race or a particular community.

The severe puritanic character of Islam is to be found not only in its denunciation of idolatry but also in the singular bareness of interior decorations in a mosque (except where contiguous idolatry influences it to some extent). Nevertheless, Mahomet's judicious recognition of the strength of visible symbol of some kind in worship is to be found in his reaffirming the sanctity of the Kaaba to which pre-Islamic Arabia made its annual pilgrimage and in his insistence upon the Haj as one of the pillars of his faith. To make the function impressive, peculiar dress, particular route and fixed manner were also enjoined. His injunction of turning towards Mecca during worship (supposed to be the first permanent seat of divine worship), though occasionally announced to be of no spiritual consequence, took due note of the importance of a *kebla* in popular faith. But, on the whole, there is in his creed nothing like the ark of the covenant with the two cherubim covering it with their spacious wings, as in the temple of Solomon, nor like the figures of the crucified Christ and the saints which loom large on a devoted Catholic congregation.

But there is one point in which these Semitic creeds were more or less alike. In them the lineaments of God fade into such indistinctness that a prophet has always been an indispensable necessity, although his function has been differently conceived in different times. To preserve the holiness and dignity of God he has been kept so far remote from the world in these deistic speculations that they have been obliged to rely upon the prophets to help them out of their transcendental lameness by means of empiric crutches. Emboldened by the claims of their predecessors, both Christ and Mahomet not only claimed inspiration or mediation for themselves but sought to bring the prophetic succession to a close with themselves. Christ exploited the Judaic fiction of an original sin to proclaim himself the only way to everlasting life, promised to the believer the way to the many mansions of his Father's house, rebuked Philip when the latter wanted to see in addition the Father whose only begotten son he claimed to be. His birth, ministration and death were duly heralded with angelic flourishes, and his resurrection took place, according to a prophecy of his own, after he had been three full days and nights in the grave, so that he might be on the right-hand side of God on the Judgment Day, presumably to introduce the believers to God for salvation. To convince believers and unbelievers alike, the resurrected Christ moves about from place to place, allows his feet to be taken hold of for worship, breaks bread, eats broiled fish, convinces doubting Thomas by exhibiting his crucified hands and side, and carries on active conversation, so that no empiric evidence might be lacking to prove that he was not left in the Hades nor did his flesh see corruption. Mahomet was more modest because he lived at a much later age when imagination had less power of appeal than reason ; but he went a step farther than Christ in one respect for it is claimed on his behalf that the Arabic scripture he revealed was the transcript of a copy kept in heaven, although it is not made clear how that is to be reconciled with his other doctrine of abrogation of previous revelations given to himself. In the usual Semitic fashion he claimed to have been heralded by Christ as the coming Paraclete just as Christ himself was heralded by John the Baptist. In the meantime, we need only notice the latent implication that without an empiric spiritual prop faith feels nervous, and that where the gods do not descend on earth in their proper forms or as incarnations, the prophets and saints take their places, or the angels, semi-divine and semi-human, flit about as messengers between God and man. No wonder the Shiahs should believe in an invisible succession of Imams !

These prophets are not only the vehicles of revelation but also the repositories of a portion of supernatural power and this they manifest by performing miraculous acts. People want striking credentials and not a mere moral life from a prophet: how else is he to be distinguished from the common herd? So, at the risk of being regarded as an imposter, he has been obliged at all times to show signs and wonders to convince the people and to win a following. Whether miracles are at all possible is a philosophical and scientific problem that has not yet been satisfactorily solved—that they should abound in ancient accounts and get rarer with the dissipation of ignorance and credulity has been urged as a strong ground against their possibility. The falling rate of conversion among cultured heathens is a sure sign that, at least in regard to Christianity, the empirical possibility of some of the miraculous stories is being widely questioned and that in future the value of any creed would be determined solely by its moral and spiritual character. Except where popular credulity is still strong, the miraculous elements are gradually disappearing in all reforming movements. But in all ancient religions a striking performance is as much an integral part of the religion as the morality taught. Just fancy what amount Judaism and Christianity would lose in prestige if the episode of the Red Sea crossing, the phenomenon of the Burning Bush, the many miracles connected with Moses, Samuel, Elijah and Elisha, the Immaculate Conception and the Resurrection were all branded as old wives' tales. We may leave aside the many secular miracles the prophets performed, for their significance is so childish at times that we wonder what other function these perform except that of acting as a bait to catch the credulous. To make a tiny pot of oil inexhaustible or to convert water into wine verge on the magical; the raising of the dead does not abolish death for the second time although it gives a temporary lease of life. And what are we to think of a dead man reviving at the touch of the buried bones of the dead Elisha?

Mahomet contented himself with giving a small list of miracles,—the sending down of the Quran, the splitting of the moon, the listening of the Quran by the jinns, Muslim victory through angelic agency,—but his followers have not failed to lengthen the list by adding the angelic purification of his heart and his supernatural mode of transport. On the whole, Islam relies less upon these fables although Mahomet himself believed in miracles and felt at the same time that he was not destined by God to perform them and consoled himself with the thought that even if he had performed miracles he might not have been more believed in than the previous prophets about whose miraculous exploits he does not seem to have had any doubt. Still, he pointed out that, for those who wanted to believe, the ordinary phenomena of nature were enough as evidences. That even of the elusive teacher Buddha, whose belief in God and future life is problematical, stories of miraculous deeds should be narrated by posterity shows the psychology of popular mind, which at no time gets rid of the idea that the supernatural being must have a supernatural way of manifesting himself to our empiric experience or else he does not exist.

And how do we manifest our reverence to the Holy One? We need not refer to the Hebrew religion where the formless character of God did not stand in the way of presenting material offerings to him throughout the year and on special occasions—a chosen menu of variety dishes which God is supposed to have himself dictated to his chosen people and which prescription later on converted a temple of God into a house of merchandise. No wonder the spiritually minded Jews were sore grieved in heart and exclaimed that to obey was better than sacrifice and to hearken than the fat of lambs. Islām too could not get away from ceremonial slaughter as a joyous thanksgiving, although Mahomet put the matter in a nutshell in his pregnant utterance that of the camels offered as sacrifice neither their flesh nor their blood but the piety of man reached God. Even in ceremonial-ridden Hinduism, where the material form assigned to godhead makes material offering tolerable, we have the remarkable utterance that, as compared with formal rites, muttering is ten times, secret prayer a hundred times, and the communion of soul a thousand times more valuable.

And now consider the cumulative effect of these empiric factors in each religion. Let there be an honest heart-to-heart talk of two good souls without reference to these factors and you are surprised to find how closely they agree. But let these factors be introduced and you see that the spirit of *rapprochement* is gone and in its place appear fanaticism and persecution. We think of the god revealed by *our* own prophet as the most attractive god and we think of *our* heaven as the most enjoyable post-mortem residence. We institute empiric environments of faith, like festivals, pilgrimages, church organisations and saints, and these act as dividing gulfs between ourselves and our neighbours. But, most of all, we claim an empiric origin for our scriptures which are supposed to have been revealed, not to human reason or to human heart, but to the eyes and ears of men by God. Were not the Vedas seen by the seers with their own eyes? Did not God make known in writing to Moses what his laws were? Did not God send down an Arabic Quran for the guidance of the faithful ? Did not Ahura-Mazda verbally answer the queries of Zarathushra ? Did not God publicly confirm Christ's ministration by divine voice? How then can one doubt the words of God without risking damnation? Thus a subtle distinction has entered into faith between visual appearance of godhead and the other sensuous revelations through which God makes his existence and wishes known. And if it is the same God that proclaims himself through the different channels, we must either rest content with what he has given us or we must be vociferous in selling our own wares even though others have the same brand. Or, we must discredit some of the revelations and thus ultimately have recourse to reason. What we generally do, however, is to organise a band of salesmen for our goods, and these energetic salesmen are the missionaries of different faiths. Most of them are affected by auto-suggestion by constantly advertising for love or money their faith-merchandise, and they energetically push the sale of their patent spiritual nostrum to a populace suffering from a sense of spiritual *malaise*, real, imaginary or artificial. In this way religious communities grow up with marked external features and peculiar social customs, ceremonies and formulae, and these serve to group and divide men, just as dresses differentiate and grade the same rational bipeds whom Carlyle described as forked radishes with curiously carved heads. If ever an ethical Utopia aiming at universal concord comes to be written, it is likely that from it the missionaries with extreme views would be banished as the poets were banished from Plato's Republic. It is not unlikely that religion in some form or other will persist as long as human nature remains essentially unchanged; but the sectarian gods are doomed together with their prophets and their scriptures. The common endeavour of all spiritually minded people of a cultured age would be not to inoculate the backward ones with the virus of this or that faith but to prepare the intellectual ground on which every man will build his own personal religion and will be prepared to change it as often as he is convinced that he has built it wrong. It is then only that he will be able to make more abundantly than now his own independent contribution to the deepest problems of life and experience to the common stock of social achievement. When all around the signs of progress are writ large, let us not cramp our souls with the shibboleths of dogmatic faith or attempt vainly to stem the tide of a greater revelation in future in which the main characters will probably be the absence of sensuous media and the illumination of individual souls prepared by culture to resist emotional and unthinking conversion. Let us not close the door against honest doubt by putting the divine stamp on the scriptures, and let us admit that all of them are man-made, albeit at different moments of human exaltation. Let us not keep our gods in the darkest chambers of our heart for fear that the glare of intellect should expose their lineaments and remove the mystic awe with which we like them so much to be shrouded. If we are bold enough, let us repeat once more, if necessary, the ethical experiment of Buddha and acknowledge no other religion than morality touched with emotion.

H. D. BHATTACHARYYA

THE EARTH IS FOR THE COMING RACE

The earth is for the coming race,
It is not for you and me,
In future weal we have no place,
In the happy days to be.

Our daily toil grows rich in fruit,
And wisdom crowns our years,
While deep in earth life strikes its root,
It's watered by mist of tears.

A shadow on our lives is cast,
The shadow of other men,
The glory we thought our own is past—
Is past beyond our ken.

It shines now for another race,
As once for us had shone,
To them the earth turns round her face—
The earth we called our own.

Of old joys there's left no trace,
Alas that it should be,
The earth is for the coming race,
It is not for you and me.

NALINIMOHAN CHATTERJEE

ATMAN *versus* BRAHMAN

In the *Calcutta Review* for November, 1926, the leading article is by Prof. Carlo Formichi of the University of Rome. The learned writer discusses in it the conception of *Ātman in the Upanishads.* From the exposition he gives of some of the passages culled from these immortal treatises, it is clear he understands the central idea underlying the writings of Rishis. With admirable succinctness he has brought out towards the conclusion the unique synthesis which the ancient seers of India effected of physical science and metaphysical philosophy and religion.

In the beginning of his article he attempts to give his exposition a historical setting. To him *Brahman* appears an earlier conception, which *Ātman,* a later product of the vision of seers, seeks to supplant. 'It (*Ātman*) sometimes rivals and opposes *Brahman,* sometimes eliminates it through silence, and sometimes lets it live on as its own synonym.'

To corroborate his theory of imaginary warfare between what he regards as two rival terms he refers to passages in the Upanishads. '*Ātman* clearly challenges *Brahman* in Chandogya VII. I., where Narada, a Brahman asks Sanatkumara, a warrior, to be initiated into the doctrine of *Ātman inasmuch as the knowledge of Brahma (brahmavidyā) is incapable of rescuing man from misery,* while every knower of *Ātman* (*ātmavit*) overcomes sorrow.'

'Every knower of *Atman* overcomes sorrow' is a literal translation of a line in the Upanishad itself. One should expect that 'the knowledge of Brahma (*brahmavidyā*) is incapable of rescuing man from misery' is likewise a literal reproduction, which, however, it is not. Prof, Formichi is advancing an original hypothesis. He owes it to himself as well as to his readers to make no addition from his own imagination to what is sufficiently expressly stated in the text. The Professor's probable authority for his derogatory statement about the efficacy of *Brahman* is the mention by Narada of *Brahmavidyā* among sciences he has already read, but which, as is clear from his request to be now 'rescued from sorrow, as the knower of *Ātma* is rescued,' have not effected his salvation. Now to this request is prefixed an affirmation, which the Professor appears perhaps to have ignored, that Narada is simply *mantravit,* the knower of the formula, and not *ātmavit,* the knower of the *spirit.* Sanatkumara in his reply repeats the same thing where he declares that all the literature he has named is *nāma i.e., letter* as distinguished from the *spirit.* Narada may have intellectually grasped but has not spiritually realised what he has read. This is his own confession, followed by a like affirmation by Sanatkumara. That *Ātman* and *Brahman* stand for the same concept in the eyes of the interlocutors will be apparent to the Professor if he proceeds a little further in the same discourse. In VII. 3.1, Sanatkumara, the warrior says :—'*Manas* is *Ātman,*......*Manas* is *Brahman.*' *Brahmavidyā,* as long as it is mastered through the intellect alone is of course 'incapable of rescuing a man from misery.' So, too, is *Ātmavidya,* a synonym of *Brahmavidya.* As soon as it is realised through a gradation of esoteric exercises and attempts enumerated in the Upanishads, it works out one's salvation.

The Professor's next authority is Brihadaranyka II. 1., where a 'Brahman, Gargya, has his *Brahman* defeated by the *Ātman* of a Kshatriya, Ajatasatru.' 'Gargya never uses the term *Ātman* but is always speaking of *Brahman* while on the contrary, the king never uses the term *Brahman* but is always speaking of *Ātman*'. Does the Professor contend that Brahman had abjured the term *Ātman,* and the Kshatriyas eschewed on oath the term *Brahman*? In the passage to which he has already referred, Narada, a Brahman, longs to be *Ātmavit,* the knower of *Ātman,* while Sanatkumara, a Kshatriya declares *manas* to be both '*Ātman*' and '*Brahman*'. In the discourse from Brihadaranyaka, too, which we are now considering, Ajatasatru, when asked to explain *Brahman*, says:—*Pratiloman chaitad yad brāhmaṇa Kshatriyām upeyad brahmame vakshyati.* II.1.15. 'It is reversing the proper procedure that a Brahman should approach a Kshatriya with the request that the latter may teach him of *Brahman.*' Now the word *Brahman* falls expressly from the lips of the Kshatriya, Ajatasatru, who proceeds in what follows, to expound the naure of *Ātman.* What implication from this alternate use of the terms could be more clear than that *Brahman* and *Atman* were synonymous terms to Ajatasatru himself, though an interpreter of his teachings come to enlighten the public as to his meaning in the twentieth century, may, on what authority he may himself know, vouch for a deadly animosity between the concepts, an animosity taking its rise from the clash of caste or perchance of colour between the Brahmans and Kshatriyas, who had vowed in all seriousness in the heat of their word-war to boycott each other's vocabulary. It was the merest chance which let slip the word *Brahman* from the mouth of the warrior-preceptor, who, therefore, cannot to-day accept the position of a linguistic foe, which Carlo Formichi seeks to assign him, instead that of a teacher whom the seeker after truth approaches in sincere humility. The Brahman pupil stuck to the term *Brahman,* as to him in accordance with the usage of the time it was nothing distinct from *Ātman,* not surely in obedience to his caste vow to abjure Kshatriya terminology.

This becomes even more manifest in *Chandogya,* V.2.1., which the Professor seizes on as his next authority. A few Brahmanas start on their search after knowledge with the query *ko nu ātmā,* which they simply repeat by saying *kim brahma,* and they first have a recourse to a Brahman, Uddalaka, who leads them to a Kshatriya, as he is convinced of the greater competency of the latter for such teaching. What greater proof could be needed of a spirit of absolute equality and cordial amity prevailing among Kshatriyas and Brahmans of those days so that one class had no hesitation in resorting to the other for enlightenment? Would such intercourse be possible if even the philosophical concepts and formulae of one caste were mentally at loggerheads with those of the other?

To Professor Formichi alone does the *Īsha* give 'the example of an Upanishad which never mentions *Brahman,* and seems to know only one universal principle, namely, *Ātman.*' The Professor has apparently read only the Kāṇva recension of *Ishopanishad.* In the Madhyandiniya version, we do meet with the formula *Om Kham Brahma.* This as also the term *Ātma* used in verses 6,7, is one more evidence of the indiscriminate acceptability of the two terms to the seers.

The Professor's last instance is from Brihadaranyaka, I.4. He himself notices that 'while in I.4. 10, 11 it is stated that in the beginning this word was only *Brahman,*' 'we read in I.4.1, in the beginning the whole word was only *Ātman.*' '*Ātmān* and *Brahman* are here identified.' We fail to see what prompts the suggestion only a few lines further "that finally in I.4.17, the author, as if repenting of having stated in I.4.10 that in the beginning the whole world was *Brahman,* says :—'In the beginning the whole world was *Atman.*'' How repentence comes in at I.4.17 and not at I.4.10, where 'this whole world' is declared to be *Brahman* after a former declaration in I.4.1 that it is *Ātman* is a mystery. Why not stick to the more sound position taken above that 'Brahman and Ātman are here identical'? The idea of repentance is quite extraneous to the theme. The Professor may claim originality for it, but not at all fidelity to the text, nor even consistency in his own exposition.

It is in the *Svetasvetara* that prospects of 'amicable electicism,' which is 'not long in reconciling all kinds of opponents' force themselves on the notice of the Professor. He sees, 'therefore, the Svetasvetara busy not only with identifying *Brahman* and *Ātman* but also bringing into line with them the

Puruṣa.' As if *Puruṣa* had not in the earlier Upanishads been expressly mentioned as the synonym of *Ātman.* • The Professor evidently ignores the opening line of Brihadranyaka, I.4.1. where *Ātman,* which alone was in the beginning, is given out to be *Puruṣa Vidḥah,* *i.e.*, in the likeness of *Puruṣa,* and towards the conclusion to be distinctly '*Puruṣa.*' And why so? *So yat purvo asmāt sarvasmāt sarvān papmana auṣat tasmāt puruṣah.* 'As it burnt away all sins before anybody else, so it was called the burner, *Puruṣa.*'

The Professor avers :—'We western people are shocked by such contradictory statements; for in the name of logic and consistency, do we not fight and are we not ready to die?'

To us neither logic and consistency, nor even fighting and the readiness to die have appeared to be the monopoly of either the East or the West. Contradictory statements shock all. The only essential thing for their being universally shocking is that they should be in fact contradictory and not simply imagined as such. In all the passages adduced by the Professor there are the earnest pupil and the earnest teacher disclosing to each other the very pith of their inner feeling. They meet in the spirit of genuine *camaraderie* of heart, not with fires of caste jealousy smouldering under the ashes of hypocrisy in their inimical bosoms, to blaze up at the first opportunity of warfare. 'Conflict,' in the effort towards peace is not simply ' avoided'; it has not arisen. *Brahman* and *Ātman* are not only 'considered' as synonymous, they *are* synonymous. To us 'whether we (Westerns) or the Indians are wiser' is no more 'an open question.' It is decided once for all. Those who conjure up contradictions, where in reality there are none, cannot, irrespective of their birth and race, help being shocked. They, in fact, purposely shock themselves, and then either find fault with, or give credit to, their western birth for an unpleasant feeling which is a creation of their imagination. To escape being gratuitously shocked, let them give up conjuring contradictions.

Let us, in conclusion, repeat our appreciation of the Professor's right apprehension of the central meaning of the seers of the Upanishads. Simply he has assigned to certain terms used in the discourse a wrong history where in reality there was no history.

CHAMUPATI

EPITAPH [1]

Gay little sister, when you met with Death
I am sure you took his hand with all the zest
You had for Life's adventures—though the breath
Had scarcely left your breast :

And as he led you on to shadowland
You skipped and called him names and laughed at him,
Death, the great policeman, trying to look grim,
Smiling behind his hand.

L. A. G. STRONG

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[1] Reproduced from *The Saturday Review*.

AJANTA

We left Ellora for Ajanta in the gray twilight of an October evening in 1922. The play of protean colours that tinted the dappled clouds in the horizon had just ceased. The last ray of the sun bad just fainted away on the top of the rock. The moon of the *Navami* or ninth night was just beginning to shine. In that mellow light the beauty of the crescent shaped Ellora rocks in the dim distance very much like the horned moon on the crest of Siva's matted locks filled us with that exquisite happiness which almost bordered on pain. We were still thinking of the marvellous work of art we left behind—nobly conceived, far nobly executed. How pliantly had the obdurate rock yielded to the chisel of the sculptor, and suffered itself to be converted into myriads of shapes, huge, stupendous, natural, grotesque, fanciful!

We passed through the courtyard of the fort of Daulatabad and left the famous Chand Minar to its solitude, all wrapped in the silvery rays of the moon. We were now dreaming of the splendours of Ajanta and were almost having a fore-taste of that subtle delight which is bred of sweet imaginings and expectant fancies. Should the brush triumph over the chisel?

We reached Pahur on the Pachora-Jamner line in the evening of the next day. From this place the *lenā* (*i.e.* the caves) is nineteen miles off. We started at half past three in the morning and passed Fardapur about three miles from the caves when the sun was just peeping out of his mansion in the eastern quarters. Further ahead the road has gone to the left over the hills to the village of Ajanta. We took the path to the right to go to the caves. Our path lay through fields of small cotton plants all abloom with their tiny flowers of varying hues—white, yellow and reddish. This together with the verdure of the vegetation as far as the eye could scan—here little dewdrops poised on leaf ends and shining like pearls in the shade of the hillocks, there radiant with the first beams of the sun playing upon them looking as if sprinkled over with all the colours of the powdered rainbow—presented a fairy spectacle enchanting beyond expression. A few paces onward the crescent-shaped scarp of the hill stood in front of us ; a little stream gurgling on as she passed and stumbled over the pebbles was meandering her slow course. We crossed her and under the shade of the trees made our way to the beautiful caves. The gentle breeze was heavy-laden with the aroma of their wild flowers. Such a calm, sequestered, beautiful spot rich in natural scenery is extremely rare. The steep hill has risen three to four hundred feet high,—two half moon segments of the hills confronting one another have shut out the entire noise of the world, as if the narrow entrance is only for the privileged *Sādhaka,* the devotee—a spot designed for the devotional exercises of the *Yogī* only. Thousands of trees and creepers intermingling with one another in endless riddles and intricate mazes have contrived to build a fit nook for *upāsanā,* for meditation. Who knows in what dim past the place was consecrated by the heart-offerings of countless *bhaktas,* and made pure by the *ārādhanā,* the devotion of the *sādhakas?* *Bhakti* and *jñāna,* reverence and knowledge, of countless artists took form here and ornamented the walls of the caves. The work was altogether selfless, for none of the innumerable paintings have been signed, a self-denial truly characterising the *sādhaka* artists of ancient India, who worked in the eyes of the great Task-Master only, ensconced in the solitude of this sacred place screened from the vision of man, and who cared naught for mundane praise or mundane blame.

In the remote past, long before the coming of the Christ, this crescent-shaped nook unfrequented by man was the abode of the Buddhist Bhikshus chosen by them for devotional exercises. Havell says in his *Ancient and Mediaeval Architecture* that just as at Hardwar the Ganges coming over the steep hills falls in torrents over the precipice so the river here rushing through the deep forest crowning the precipice falls divided in several loose tresses like another Ganges bursting madly from the close locks of Śankara.

Mr. Solomon in his *Women of the Ajanta Caves* thus describes the scene :

> "The cliff sweeps downward to the valley in a double cascade of volcanic rock, topped with a soft curling spume of greenery, and vanishing into verdant brake and coppice below. This rock wave is punctured with human eyries of the monks, fit habitations indeed for those soaring spirits. From the great half-moon gallery that connects the temples, one looks across the vale, and serpentining river upon opposing crags that seem to heave and billow with superabundant green. The head of the crescent swings southward in its full curve and is closed by a huge buttress of perpendicular rock down a chasm of which the river tumbles in a light cascade. The wavelike hills are here and there broken, by tall splintered rocks that tower in stern contrast above the verdure. But this greenness has clung and crept, climbed and crawled, and at last conquered every cranny and crevice of the landscape. The greenness of Ajanta seems fraught with tenderness. It is Love the beautifier who presses a vernal kiss even on the forbidding lip of the precipice."

I cannot help quoting the artist once more, since I am in full agreement with him and since I cannot express with greater effect :

> " Seated on the threshold of the Seventeenth Cave under the far-projecting caves of virgin rock, I gazed at the great cliff opposite. From this vantage point one can see the waterfall. The sun now getting low had thrown the rugged eastern angle of the valley into shadow, but its light hung like a great ruby upon the broad bosom of the cliff. Far beneath at the cavernous base of the rock the river had a tarn-like look, so turpid and slow flowed its current.
>
> Across its unruffled surface was drawn a gleam like a dagger blade of jade. As I eyed, I found myself speaking aloud the words, 'Majesty and Power.' The action was a sub-conscious one. I do not know how the words formed in my mind, nor why I uttered them, but I am sure the syllables were forged by something more subtle than

chance, by some impression in a remote brain-cell which worked responsive to the influences, both external and viewless, of my surroundings."

There are altogether twenty-nine caves here, great and small, finished and unfinished. Of these four are *Chaityas,* and the remaining, *Vihāras.* Perhaps a word or two regarding these will not be out of place. There was Saṃgha or congregation among the Buddhists, and the Saṃgha was so honoured that it found a place in the formula of Buddhist initiation known as the Three Jewels (*Triratna*) or the Three Refuges (Triśaraṇa), *viz.,*

Buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi |
Dhammaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi ||
Saṃghaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi |||

The Buddhistic worship was not individualistic like that of the Brahmins and the Jains, but *Congregational*—all prayed together. The Assembly Hall or the Chapter House where they congregated was called the Chaitya House. Many householders without renouncing the world accepted the Three Refuges ; they were called Upāsakas. Those, however, who renounced the *āgāra* or the home and became *anāgārī* or homeless were called the Bhikshus. These latter consecrated themselves entirely to religion. Thus the Upāsakas were distinguished from the Bhikshus. The maintenance of this distinction regulated the construction of the Chaityas, an explanation of which is forbidden by consideration of space in this article. Such Assembly Halls were used for prayer. The *Vihāras* consisting of many cells were occupied, in most cases, singly, by the Bhikshus.

The primitive religion of Gotama Buddha underwent a great change as time passed on, and about the second century after Christ became mixed up with several creeds and superstitions and became known as the Mahāyāna doctrine. Those who followed the primitive religion were called Hīnayānists, those who followed the developed and complex faith, the

Mahāyānists. Caves No. IX and X were Hīnayānist Chaityas. These are simple constructions without any decoration or ornamentation quite in conformity with the severe simplicity of their faith which was opposed to all sorts of complex ritual or image worship. The two Chaityas mentioned above have been assigned to the second and first centuries before Christ. The axis of the Halls turns towards the North and North-East. And there is a symbolism in this. For, the North signifies darkness and night, fit symbols of *Parinirvāṇa* or the Great Decease of the Buddha. The *Hīnayānists* who were severe rigourists did not take the Buddha as the rising sun as subjects of their meditation, but elected to think on his *Parinīrvāṇa* indicated by the dark night sky conventionally symbolised by the northern quarter.

At the head of the entrance of the Chaityas is the archway called the *Sun-window*. Havell calls it the lotus leaf arch. The pencil of the rays of the sun makes way through it and falls directly on the dagoba or Buddha image illuminating it and throwing the rest of the space into what the poet calls "the minster gloom." Havell says :

> "As a theological symbol it stood for Brahma or Buddha or Siva and when image worship gradually crept into the Indo-Aryan ritual, the arch became the aureole of a seated figure of divinity, the form of which was associated in the mind of the devout with the lotus leaf. The outside line of the arched opening took the shape of a conventionalised leaf of the sacred pipal—the Bodhi Tree."

We meet at Ajanta rather than anywhere else in the world with "the true symphony of the three arts, *viz.*, painting, sculpture and architectonic design." I will limit myself to the first.

The subjects of the paintings are traditionally divided into two groups (1) mundane and (2) supermundane. Ajanta was a University in the same way that Takshasila and Nalanda were and was indissolubly connected with religion. The Chaityas being solely designed for prayer and worship, no paintings were devoted to mundane subjects, but all dealt with religious topics. Here we find depicted the scenes connected with the life of Gotama Buddha, with the stories of the Jātakas relating the deeds of the Buddha in the innumerable previous births through which he passed as the Bodhisattva before he finally became the Buddha or the "Enlighened," and thirdly with the Mahāyāna pantheon with its bewildering assemblage of *Daivī* and *Mānushī* Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, with Dvārapālas, Kinnaras, Kinnaris, dwarfs, demons and griffons and other grotesque creations. In the Vihāras are found mundane scenes, but not to the exclusion of religious ones. It is said that here also are represented historical scenes such as the receiving of the Persian Embassy by the great Chalukyan Monarch Pulakesin II and the conquest of Lanka by Vijaya who landed there and vanquished the Rakshasas, but I agree with M. Foucher in maintaining that they were not so, but were only scenes connected with the Jātakas and the Avadānas. The conventional division of the subjects into mundane and supermundane therefore disappears, all subjects being connected with religion.

I will briefly allude to some of the paintings. In the *Nidānakathā* we read of the conception of Māyādevī; as she is sleeping she is dreaming that a graceful white Elephant—the Bodhisattva—approaches her. The painting is excellent. The subject, however, was mistaken by Griffiths who took it to be the scene representing the *Mahābhinishkramaṇa* or the Great Retirement of Gotama. Foucher has given the correct interpretation (see the translation of his article in the Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society).

Then Prince Gotama is born. A scene represents the events of his infancy. Rishi Asita or Kālā-Devala came to pay reverence to the baby saviour much in the same way as Simeon, one of the wise men of the East, who came star-guided to the lowly cottage at Bethlehem to see the saviour, the Christ. Incidentally I may mention that many scholars are of opinion that the Simeon incident in the Bible has been suggested by Asita's visit to infant Gotama. Burlingame says :—

> "The theory of Buddhist loans in the New Testament has been advocated by several scholars, notably R. Seydel, G. A. Van der Bergh, Van Eysinga and A. T. Edmunds. In one form or another it has won the acceptance of many distinguished scholars, among others, O. Pfleiderer, E. Kuhn, R. Pischel and R. Garbe."

Other parts of the same scene depict his study and instruction in athletic sports.

The temptation of Gotama by Māra, the Buddhist Satan, has been represented in a skilful manner. After renouncing the world Gotama studied under Brahmin preceptors and practised austerity for six years. Then he attained illumination under the Bodhi Tree. He was there tempted by Māra. It is related that Māra with his entire cohorts of demons tried to unseat Gotama from under the Bodhi Tree by frightening him. The elements under his command raged round the *Yogī*, the forked lightening tore up the sky, the thunder clanged, splinters of rocks were thrown upon him, blazing coals of fire were sprinkled on him, but nothing availed, nothing appalled. The great yogī sat undisturbed in his yoga. The daughters of Māra, Taṇhā (Thirst), Rati (Desire) and others were commissioned to break his virtue ; they tried all their lascivious arts and charms but were vanquished by the great conqueror. On the top left of the scene one is holding out threats to him with his forefinger ; hideous demons raise their arms against him ; an ugly monster with an owl—the symbol of destruction—sitting on his head makes the eyes protrude out of their sockets by a device well-known to those who have at one time or another frightened children out of their wits ; another monster from whose mouth a hissing serpent comes out can be seen to his left. Tigers and bear-headed monsters are also seen. Thus assailed by Māra Gotama silently touched the earth with his right hand coming over his right knee and appealed to her to witness the attack of Māra on him. This attitude is the celebrated *Bhumisparśamudrā*. In response to his appeal the Earth yelled. The hosts of Māra were scattered away and Māra himself crest-fallen is seen slinking away. Sākya Gotama is hailed as Buddha Vīra by the gods.

There are many other interesting scenes *e.g.*, the first sermon at Benares where he turned the wheel of the Law (*Dharma chakrapravartana*), the exhibition of the Twin Miracles (*Yamakapāṭīhāriya*), the Buddha in several attitudes or Mudrās etc., which may not be detailed here.

Let me briefly allude to the so-called historical paintings. In a scene four soldiers on horse back with spears are in the boat, two elephants are seen carried on the boat; the rider on the white elephant is supposed to be Vijaya; minor chiefs accompany him—all shaded by an umbrella. Foot soldiers bearing banners and spears, swords and shields follow them. Evidently they are engaged in battle, the elephants swaying their trunks in excitement. The swinging of the bell indicates motion. In other part a fierce fight rages. The female demons with flowing tresses, long curved teeth and pendent breasts are evidently vanquished. Some are supplicating the chief. Disembowelled entrails, fallen riders, broken swords and spears complete the scene of discomfiture of the Rākshasīs. The scene then turns to the coronation of the Victor who is seated on a couch, his feet resting on a low stool. Two attendants pour over him the consecrated water. Musicians beating drums and cymbals are seen below. Foucher who studied the paintings on the spot with great care and whose wide acquaintance with the Buddhistic lore and the Jātakas in their Chinese and Indian versions and who may, therefore, be regarded as an authority, says that there is nothing historical in the scenes. The landing of Vijaya ingeniously so named by Mrs. Speir indeed refers to the *Simhalāvadāna* (included in *Mākandikāvadāna* in the *Divyāvadāna—K. P. M.*) which recounts the adventures of the merchant Simhala in the isle of the Rakshasīs, his accession to the throne and conquest of

Ceylon. The Divyāvadāna, Mahāvastu and the Jātakas bear that out.

The same is true of the so-called embassy received by the great Chalukyan monarch Pulakeshin II from Khusru II of Persia (A.D. 591-624). Fergusson came to this conclusion. That the members of the embassy are Persians is nearly certain from their complexion and general appearance as well as from their costumes, which are in marked contrast with those of the Indians, and from their high conical caps. The drinking scenes were supposed to refer to the drinking bouts of king Khusru with his beautiful wife Shirin.

Foucher says :

> "I must declare that, to my great regret, we must decidedly give up the hope, cherished by many admirers of Ajanta, of finding there a sort of historical gallery telling us about the great events and showing us the great personages of the Indian past.........the subject of all the depicted scenes is borrowed from one or other of the two great parts of the Buddhistic legend, the Jatakas and Buddha's career. Regarding the supposed 'Persian Embassy' in cave I, if this picture were the only one that represents people dressed in Persian costume, there might have been some reason to consider it the unique exception from the rule ; but this costume appears almost everywhere in the paintings, as one can easily make sure, and the ready knowledge of the dress shown by the artists of Ajanta is sufficiently explained by its nearness to the western coast of India. I do not believe, I am too dogmatic in saying that of historical matter properly so called, there is none to be found at Ajanta; nor have I in the course of our review of the iconography found the least trace of historical portraits. I do not think that anybody now is likely to defend the hypothesis, as wanton as it is seductive, that the caissons of the ceiling of Cave I show us the Sassanan king, Chosroes in the company of his beautiful wife Shirin."

Interesting are the various devices of ornamental work used in the border of paintings in the ceilings and elsewhere—lotuses in bloom, or half budding, bunches of mangoes, goose pecking at a lotus, ridiculous figures talking confidentially, running elephants, etc. The lotus and the goose had with the

Buddhists and the Hindus deep spiritual symbolism. They were used in countless combinations and endless variety.

Many grotesque images are found such as the traditional Kinnaras, Kumbhandas, Yakshas, dwarfs, etc.

The Master-builders of Ajanta were thoroughly acquainted with the treatises on building. Numerous references are found in Pāli literature to works of construction known as *Vatthuvijjā* or *Vāstuvidyā, e.g.*, the Vinaya texts, Vimānavatthuaṭṭhakathā, and the Jātakas (see Mahāummagga-jātaka). Treatises in Sanskrit such as Vāstuvidyā and Śilparatna were many, but now unfortunately lost. In one such Silparatna now edited in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series *recipes* are given for preparing the ground on which the frescoes were to be painted.

I will conclude by quoting the opinion of a famous modern artist on the execution of the work of the ancient monk-artists of Ajanta. Here are extracts from the opinion of the Danish artist, M. Axel Jarl, taken from the *Annual Report of the Hyderabad Archæological Survey* (1914-1915) :

> "The water-paintings in the rock-cut caves at Ajanta exhibit the classical art of India. That is to say they represent the climax to which genuine Indian Art has attained and they show the way to be followed by Indian artists.
>
> The colours are deeper and often purer and the whole scale of colours is far richer than in other stucco paintings of similar dimensions, *e.g.*, Egyptian tombs, Pompeian houses, Italian churches from the Middle Ages onwards...The painters were guided by a highly developed sense in their blending of colour with a view to the total impression produced.
>
> This technique which reaches its climax in a Bodhisattva figure in Cave I bears a striking resemblance to that of Michael Angelo. If one placed a good photograph of this Buddha head by the side of a photograph of a figure from the Capella Sixtina, one might be inclined to think, if no attention were paid to the different types of the figures, that they were painted by the same master. ....Extensive use of ornaments skilfully done...If the figures are moving such ornaments are used to give an impression of the speed. There are flying figures whose rapid movements are suggested more vividly, for instance, by the heavy pendants swinging out almost horizontally.

One meets with an unlimited freedom in the choice of postures and movements. Even those that are more improbable get appearance of life and reality....This perfect freedom in the painters' handling of the human body places Ajanta one thousand years ahead of all other paintings that we know. There is no exhibition of the painters' knowledge of Anatomy, nor is there any offence against anatomy, The Hindu racial type is simply concentrated and intensified in their art and thereby have been secured a gracefulness and an expressiveness in the representation of the human body the equal of which it is hard to find anywhere.

Figures like that of "Prima Vera" by Boticelli may be called the sisters of some of the female figures of Ajanta, *e.g.*, in Cave II.

Great and thorough study of Nature and a patient and industrious training in tradition made it possible for the artist to transcend reality as he does so often to express what is the distinctive aim of all oriental art, the *soul*, the spiritual side of the existence.......The anatomy of the eye is so well understood and so well reproduced in the drawing that these strange and peculiarly curved lines cannot possibly represent any thing else in the world except just a human eye. ......India will get her Renaissance if she turns to Ajanta and goes to school there.

Whoever wants to serve the cause of pure Indian Art will find his masters here, in whose steps he must strive to go. He will do as they did, first of all study Nature to master the secrets of form, volume and movement. But then he will go to Ajanta to cultivate his sense of deep and harmonious colours, of distinct and full composition, of expressive and pleasing lines, and last and not least of genuine Hindu figure and style. As he lives and studies among their works, he will catch something of their sacred fire, until in him he feels the heart vibrating while the hand draws a clear and bold outline. This is why those old masterpieces so often leave upon the observer the impression of a prayer or a hymn of praise."

Will this call of a foreign artist to Indians go in vain?

KALIPADA MITRA

BURMA AND BURMAN TREASURES

(An Indian's Impressions.)

On my first hurried visit to the picturesque river-port and city of Rangoon which is still rather mainly Indian in its population and internal life and the name of which is a living symbol of triumphant marches and conquests made by Alompra, the well known founder of the last great dynasty of Burmese kings bearing his name, I had the courage, in October, 1924, of giving out just a few of my first impressions about Burma and her people.[1] I could not surely do more than this even if my courage was bold enough to follow the unbridled course of my imagination and enthusiasm. I could not indeed flatter myself so much for my courage as I was enabled to thank the citizens of this noble city for the patient hearing they gave me, and much for their ready willingness to be amused and be thinking about the life of a youthful people who might be seen around them.

Those first impressions which I then formed and with which I came back to Calcutta without having the opportunity of going into the interior to see more of men and things really—Burman, remained unabated. I went for the second time to find myself again in the midst of those welcoming friends and attractive surroundings I made my first acquaintances of, and I was happy that I had gone with a determination to penetrate into the interior to see men and things, collecting information, broadening my outlook and deepening my sympathy, which is undoubtedly one of the very best ways of making oneself interested in the study of the past, present and future of a country, which is not apparently one's own. Before one has seen more and enough and read sufficiently well, before one has definitely formed one's opinion or has settled conviction, one cannot do better than modestly state what other impressions one has gathered of things other than those previously noticed. I am to state my first impressions not about Burma and her people but about Burma and her treasures.

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[1] The Lecture on *Burma and Burman Life* appeared in the *Calcutta Review*, 1924.

Awaiting Exploration.

The picture which presents itself of this wonderful land where everything is so strikingly amazing and in some instances quite bewildering, consists of the panorama of a richly poor country where many treasures lie yet buried underground awaiting exploration, or neglected awaiting a natural doom, or unvalued even though they are exposed to view and preserved in safe custody.

What do I mean by treasures, and why I am tempted to delineate here a picture of a land of treasures however incomplete ? What I mean and what I do not mean by treasures in Burma can easily be guessed by those who have ever cared to acquaint themselves with the instructive teaching brought home in the simplest diction of a Pāli Poetical Discourse, Nidhikaṇḍa Sutta, being a Discourse on the hoarding of treasures. I shall present forthwith an account of the same in as brief an outline as possible.

In the Pāli Sutta and in its commentary, the term Nidhi is derived from a root, meaning 'to bury,' 'to hoard up,' 'to conceal,' 'to guard.' Thus taking this term in its general and wider meaning, one can say all that deserves to be buried, hoarded up, concealed, guarded, cherished or protected against spoliation is Nidhi or Treasure. Naturally then the actual signification of Nidhi or Treasure varies according to the interest of the man. The commentary recognises four kinds of Nidhi and mentions a number of things as examples of each kind.

Kinds of Treasures.

The first kind is called Thāvara, Standing or Stationary, not exactly immovable but rather immobile. The objects terrestrial or aerial, the precious metals, metallic jewellery and medium of currency, landed property, homestead and such other things that are incapable of voluntary movement—these constitute the Thāvara Nidhi or Standing Treasure.

The second kind is known by the name of Jaṅgama or Moving, not exactly movable, but rather mobile. The slaves and servants, male or female, the elephants, cattle, horses, mules, goats and rams, fowls and swine, or such other living creatures capable of voluntary movement—these go under the name of Jaṅgama or Moving.

The third kind is characteristically named Aṅgasama, meaning peculiar to the individual, Personal or Private in a sense. The occupational fitness, artistic skill, scientific knowledge, erudition or other attainments acquired by patient study or practice and bound up with the self like the body and its constituent parts—these go under the name of Aṅgasama.

The fourth kind is Anugāmika, the Accompanying or Undeserting. The puṇya or merit of pure mental joy arising from piety, or from morality, or from meditation, or from the hearing of messages of the Dharma, or from the imparting of instruction on the Dharma, or such like merit of pure mental joy serving to produce the desired fruit and attending wherever he goes, in whatever state of existence he may be,—this is what is called Anugāmika or Undeserting.

Pride of Place.

Those who have got to know Burma intimately, and those who have even glanced through the "Twentieth Century Impressions of Burma," a costly and magnificent publication which is now very rare and hardly to be found for sale in the market, will, I am sure, agree with me that there are few countries in Asia that can vie with, not to say surpass, Burma in the possession of the first two kinds of Nidhi, the Thāvara and the Jaṅgama, the vast resources of her wealth abounding in her expansive rice-fields, timber-forests, stone-quarries, goldmines and oil-fields, her poverty in coal being in some degree made good by her abundance of other fuel.

With regard to the productions of manual labour and skill as an example of Aṅgasama Nidhi, Burma can still claim a distinct place of her own for a very large variety of ornamental lacquer-ware, wood-carving, exquisite ivory-work, fine-silver-jewellery, cigars-and-cheroots manufacture, and similar handicrafts displaying a good deal of originality, and maintaining their native appearance even when presented in the disguise of foreign imitations.

Mental Supremacy.

Regarding the attainments and acquisitions bearing evidence of the triumph of human intellect and imagination and serving as other examples of Aṅgasama Nidhi, my impression is that Burma ranks the foremost among all the Buddhist countries that emerged into a higher form of active life comparatively in recent times, compared, I mean, with India and Ceylon, China, Central Asia and Tibet.

Lastly, in the wealth of the merit of pure mental joy arising from the act of piety, deep meditation, Dhammasavana, and Dhammadesanā, Burma reigns supreme. One having the welfare of Burma at one's heart would wish that she was equally rich rather than poor in the boasted tradition of the purity of conduct. But even here the one redeeming feature is that her people have a long tradition of sobriety, simplicity and hospitality, one of her distinguished rulers, patrons of learning and supporters of Buddhist faith being noted in history for his valued decisions against the intoxicants.

My task now is to invite attention to treasures in Burma which consist in her cultural attainments, general humanity and liberal piety. For the fulfilment of this task it will be necessary also to acquaint ourselves with the contrast drawn both in manner and effect between the two methods of treasure-hoarding in the Pāli Discourse under notice.

Two Methods of Hoarding.

There are two methods of hoarding treasures, we are told, the first of burying them, especially the Thāvara Nidhi, in a deep hole, pit or cavity in the fondest hope that whenever necessity arises, in times of emergency, they will come into use, and the second of building up a tradition of piety, purity of conduct, moral restraint and self-subjugation; in short, humanity. On emergent occasions, as when, for instance, the tyrants in power are oppressive, the villainous thieves are harassing, the relentless creditors are exacting, or famine and other calamities are overwhelming, the treasures will come into use,—it is to meet these pressing needs that people generally hoard up their earthly treasures. But in common experience the treasures thus hoarded up underground in holes and cavities do not prove to be availing always and all of them, this method of hoarding having its attendant perils. The treasures thus hoarded up may disappear from the place where they are deposited, the depositor may fail to recognise the spot, they may by mysterious agent be removed or stolen, their rival inheritors may dig them up without the knowledge of the owner, or when ill luck would have it, all of them be destroyed.

Anugāmika Nidhi.

The treasures belonging to men and women are well hoarded up and remain intact and unsurpassed, if they are spent on the erection of the various shrines perpetuating the memory of their builder, and for helping and entertaining the Saṅgha, and other deserving persons like guests, parents, brothers and elders. The treasure which is the summation of all this is inaccessible and safe from thieves. All that men can long to have can be obtained by this means. All estates that are human and all blissful experience that are celestial, even Nibbāna, the highest attainment, can be attained by the same. Personality, leadership, sovereignty, even amongst the gods, true friendship, true knowledge, true emancipation, and perfection even unto Buddhahood—all these can be realised by the treasure which is Anugāmika or Undeserting.

I have a strong impression that this hallowed land of Pagodas and Kyaungs presents an uninterrupted record of attempt on the part of all to fulfil, in the spirit, the teaching of the Pāli Sutta, and to my knowledge, there is hardly another country where the rulers and the ruled, the oppressors and the oppressed have all along combined to put forth their energies and to make all possible efforts to produce and accumulate the wealth of the merit of pure mental joy constituting the boasted Anugāmika Nidhi, the undeserting and unwearing treasure of Burma as a whole. And casting glances on all sides, it is not difficult to find out that so far as these efforts and their results are concerned, Burma has afforded in history an extensive battle-field for the beating of Dhammāsoka's drum of the Dhamma, and the effecting of the same monarch's lasting conquest by the Dhamma.

Pali Literature.

The Pāli literature produced and also widely read in Burma, varying in diction, extensive in scope and comprehensive in the treatment of all useful themes, is itself a priceless treasure. The brilliant achievement made by the Sayadaws and scholars of Burma in the field of Pāli literature is a triumph, beyond doubt, of modern Buddhist scholarship. Kings, merchants, traders, and all inhabitants rich and poor alike have ungrudgingly spent their wealth to build and maintain the Kyaungs in all parts of the country, and to develop themselves into 'a people at school.' The picture of the paradise sought to be drawn in the charming verses constituting the prologue of the Apadāna, a Pāli Piṭaka work which appears to be a post-Aśokan compilation, is that of an eternal school situated in the calm and serene atmosphere of natural surroundings and in the midst of cool bowers and lasting monuments of sublime architecture, sculpture, painting and iconography, giving expression to lofty and refined imagination, emotion and faith, an ideal institution where everyone entering or residing is expected to be at once teacher and pupil, a centre, in other words, of learning which would foster the spirit of open, progressive and unending enquiry. If one looks deep into the details of life in Burma, one can easily discover how the monks and the laity have always united and co-operated with each other to materialise the Buddhist poetical vision of Buddhakhetta, the Paradise of Bliss (Sakhāvatī) as it is called in some of the Mahāyana works. It is gratifying indeed to note that even in the worst time of disorder and change there were centres of learning where ordained members of the Buddhist Saṅgha, acting as the custodians of Buddhist traditional learning, could be comparatively at peace, that there were protected monasteries, where old texts could be copied and new commentaries and treatises composed, and that the stream of learning flowed wherever a channel offered itself, whether in the North or in the South.

But I do not intend to dwell upon this priceless treasure as this task, supreme in its importance, has already been fulfilled by my teacher the late Mrs. Mabel Haynes Bode. One wishing to form a correct estimate of the value of this accumulated treasure may simply be referred to her charming little book "The Pali Literature of Burma," published by the Royal Asiatic Society in 1909, which is sure to live as a classic of Buddhist work in English, connected by lineage with Nandipañña's Gandhavaṃsa, and Paññasāmi's Sāsanavaṃsa, two works written in Pāli, and Pitakathamaing written in Burmese. It must be said always to the credit of the Buddhist teachers and scholars of Burma that they have actively returned the inestimable gift of the Pāli Piṭaka commentaries received from South India and Ceylon and one can still see here the process and zeal of novel expositions and original writings.

It is a most astonishing feat indeed that the people of Burma, whether Talaings, Burmans or Arakanese, have succeeded in producing an enormous Pāli literature on all divisions of the Pāli Piṭaka, the Sutta, the Vinaya and the Abhidhamma, on grammar, rhetoric, prosody, metrics, etc., they have produced works either supplementing, or abridging in some instances, even surpassing similar works which they had brought over from India or Ceylon.

Burma has important place in the history of Buddhism and Pāli literature as the greatest known centre for the study of Abhidhamma treatises and such classical works on Buddhist exgetical methodology as the Nettipakaraṇa and the Peṭakopadesa. The law-codes compiled both Pāli and Burmese whether on the basis of the Indian law-codes of Manu and other writers or independently, with the progress of time, on the basis on the Pāli text in the Sutta, the Vinaya or the Jātaka, far outweigh similar attempts that were made from 12th Century A. D. onwards in Nepal.

Apart from all literary works on the Vinaya, when we consider the Kalyāṇi-Stone-Inscriptions set up by the Talaing King Dhammaceti who was filled with the noble zeal of reforming the Saṅgha, we cannot help appreciating their contents as the final and the finest product of extensive study and the critical judgment. Mr. Taw Sein Ko and Major R. C. Temple, the two great pioneers who made attempts to edit and preserve these inscriptions, have placed us for ever under a debt of gratitude.

In making even a brief survey of Pāli collections and literature in Burma one fact strikes us most, namely, that the best intellects in Burma have throughout been engaged on developing the Buddhist doctrines of method in all spheres of human interest. There is no other country in the East where the Kammavācās, the typical forms of proceedings, Nettipakaraṇa and its numerous expositions all dealing with exgetical methodology have been zealously preserved and widely studied.

I am sure that through the traditions of discipline sought to be created through Buddhism, the people of Burma have acquired great fitness to adapt themselves quickly to the principles and regulations of modern institutions.

Vernacular Literature.

The study of Pāli literature has been fruitful in other fields too. The attempt made by the Buddhist teachers and scholars to translate the Pāli classics and to write expositions in Burmese as well as in Talaing, have helped them to develop their own dialects into literary languages and surely these Buddhist works in translations and expositions constitute the greater bulk of vernacular literature, which again is a treasure of great national importance and yet await a careful scrutiny and research. The Burma Research Society founded in this city is one of the greatest institutions, and I must say that the manner in which it has been directing its researches ever since its foundation promises a bright future of researches into and the development of vernacular literature. It is no less gratifying to me, as a student of Pāli, that the Professors of Pali attached to the Rangoon College, whether the late lamented Professor Forchhammer or Professor Duroiselle or Professor Pe Maung Tin, have keenly interested themselves in the study of vernacular literature and taken pride to make their contents known to the outer world. It is a pity that the University of Rangoon is not yet in a position to make sufficient provision for the study not only of Burmese literature but also of the Mon, the Cambodian, the Pyu and the Shan. Before any headway can be made it is essential to raise the standard of newspapers and magazines poorly conducted at present in vernacular and to found literary societies all over the country to create among the people at large an interest in their own languages and literature. No Government on earth, however solvent it may be, can afford to finance these undertakings entirely, though the impetus given by it may go a long way.

But here is a curious instance where, in spite of the initiative taken by the Government, the people remain almost indifferent.

The mass of vernacular literature, is not only rich in its earthly treasures of folktales, songs, treatises on law, astronomy, medicine, astrology, poetry and ballads, and Zat-pwes and Magic, but includes also a large number of inscriptions and royal edicts and votive tablets which present the indelible records on the changes, political and social, religious and artistic, that have occurred at different periods in the history of this land. The under current of Brahmanical treatises on Law, Astronomy, Mathematics, Grammar, Philology, Rhetoric, Prosody, Metrics, Lexicons, Epics, Manuals of political and moral maxims and handbooks of architecture, sculptures, paintings and bronze-casting still flow on to enrich the vernacular literature.

Brahmanical Works.

One of the inscriptions collected by Forchhammer at Pagan and dated B. E. 804 (1442 A. D.) contains a number of titles of Sanskrit works, the identification of which is not altogether difficult, though sometimes greatly disguised in the Burmese transcriptions. The evidence of this inscription goes only to show that as early as the beginning of the 15th century, Pagan Monasteries were centres not only of Buddhist learning but of standard Indian Sanskrit scholarship also. Fortunately some of the manuscript copies of these works are in safe keeping of the Bernard Free Library, which is another great institution and a lasting monument to British fame.

It is important that during the early period the interests of the Burmese Sāyādaws and scholars were not unduly concentrated upon the Pāli sources of their culture. There is very clear evidence to show that they studied with care, and I should also say, with profit, the Sanskrit Buddhist treatises on Logic, Dialectic and Scientific method, notably Dhammakirti's famous manual the ' Nyāya-Bindu,' along with Brahmanical treatises on linguistic speculations and Nyāya. It appears that the scholars have failed to identify the work entitled 'Tanoga-buddhi.' It is apparently a title corresponding with Chāṇakyabuddhi, the wisdom of Chāṇakya or Kauṭilya, the putative author of great Arthaśāstra and all popular manuals of statecraft. The Pāli Burmese literature including a number of works like the Lokanīti and the Rājanīti surely point to the Indian manuals of popular maxims generally ascribed to Chāṇakya-Kauṭilya. The Pāli-Burmese literature has a peculiar value as a case of the amalgamation of two distinct trends of thought, namely, the Hindu and Buddhist. I shall not mention here the numerous archæological finds of literary, epigraphic or artistic interest which in themselves constitute a bewildering mass of historical evidence, requiring the most careful sifting before conclusion may definitely be drawn from them. What strikes me at present as the main features of these finds is that they give us a glimpse of the flow of a mighty stream with distinct currents of civilisation that reached Burma from various directions, from South India, Ceylon, Cambodia, Northern India and from China and Central Asia.

Visitors from outside as well as visitors from the moffusil have reasons to congratulate the guardians of the city of Rangoon next to Calcutta and Bombay in its volume of trade, that they have been able to make arrangement to lay out a garden for exhibiting the various living species and another garden for the exhibition of horticultural plants. We might have congratulated them even more, if they had, instead of whetting our appetite with the alluring name of a museum, actually appeased our hunger by properly founding it for the preservation of the priceless treasures of art and industry, and we might assure them that some of these exhibits would cost them far less than a living hippopotamus or a rhinoceros, and that many of the dead exhibits would fetch them a greater price and be found to be far more eloquent in expression than the squeaks of the monkeys at the zoo.

Caves in Moulmein.

Mr. Taw Sein Ko and Major R. C. Temple made it long ago known to the world that some forty ancient caves existed in the Talaing country containing a large number of images of the Buddha and other deities, frescoes and mural paintings that spoke of the glory of the past. Once these caves served as calm retreats of serious meditative scholars. All these caves were in use as protective cabinets for depositing priceless old manuscripts. Now, in spite of ruthless vandalism perpetrated by the Portugese Philip De Brito and other reckless enemies of culture, there survived a few stone-boxes in these caves with priceless treasures stored in them. No one knows in the least what has become of these treasure-troves. All the Talaing traditions record the great respect which the Sangha of Burma entertained for the great commentators Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla who flourished as celebrities of Kānchīpura in the 5th and 6th centuries A. D. Buddhaghosa has quoted the authority and views of four or five distinct schools of older commentaries. Where these older commentaries have gone no one can say. This is another priceless treasure redolent with evidence of the early development of Buddhism in Ceylon, Burma and Farther India. Who knows some of the old manuscripts in these Talaing caves may give a clue to those missing commentaries?

Hluttaw Records.

Before I conclude, I shall draw attention to another treasure in Burma bearing clearest evidence of Burman achievement in the art of administration and diplomacy. I am referring to the Hluttaw records, specimens of which Mr. Taw Sein Ko has edited in a notable volume. All these specimens pertain all but the first to the reign of Thibaw, the last independent king of Burma. The first one, too, may be taken as relating to the reign of the same king, since it is but king Mindon's Royal order appointing king Thibaw as the Crown

Prince and Heir-apparent to the throne. Whatever men of Burma may say about the origin of the institution of the Hluttaw during the reign of King Narapatisithu of Pagan and his successors, there seems to be much truth in the suggestion made by Mr. Harvey and other historians that it had really existed from the earliest times. The Hluttaw is a standing assembly of four highly responsible ministers and the supreme court of Royal Commission for transacting ordinarily all the most important business of the State. The Burmese Hluttaw has a parallel in Indian history in the form of an assembly of three or four chief ministers selected out of a larger body, known as the Council of Ministers. As in Burma, so in India, this institution was meant to check the abuse of the powers of the kings. Mr. Harvey rightly points out that the Hluttaw failed to develop into a constitution as the ministers constituting it were after all appointed by the king and so far were the creatures of the king. The ministers represented in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, the Indian classic on Royal polity were on no better footing. I need not lengthen my expositions of the Hluttaw by an examination of the Royal edicts of Dhammāśoka, and shown what evidence they still bear to the attempts of a systematic kind made by the great Buddhist emperor of India to relegate independent authority to the assembly of chief ministers of the State to evolve by their joint deliberation, a policy beneficial to the people of the land, and no less to found the system of justice in a uniform and equitable basis and what is more, to temper, wherever possible, justice with mercy.

However powerless the ministers of the Hluttaw might have been, it cannot be denied that there was a representative element in that institution, and that the introduction of this element of representation could be traced to the influence of Buddhism.

We do not know what the records of the Hluttaw were in earlier times. Even as they are, they are no less precious than the Ain-i-Akbari, the Hindu Lekha-paddhati included in the

Gaekwar's Oriental Series, the Arthaśāstra, or the inscriptions of the Buddhist Emperor Aśoka.

Double History.

Reflecting upon the treasures in Burma, one cannot fail to detect that Burma has a double history instead of one. Here political history, of which we have glimpses through the many chronicles and inscriptions, considered by itself, is but a black record of tribal feuds, Court-intrigues, assassinations and heartless atrocities and callous crimes. The other history, presenting a striking contrast to the former, is the history of the expansion and development of Buddhism. It is in this latter history, her nobler history, that we discover all her most precious treasures.

B. M. Barua

THE CURRENT DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

In the previous lectures in this series, I have attempted to account for the growth of international co-operation during the course of the last one hundred years, and to point out the service which is being rendered to our modern international community by the co-operation of various states in agencies established both before and since the World War. It was in continuation of a process of organization begun soon after the middle of the last century that the League of Nations was inaugurated in 1920; and on the record of the past seven years, it seems possible to say that this method of co-operation has brought the world much nearer to adequate provision for protecting those interests which all peoples have in common not only the interest in the maintenance of peace, but also the interest in an intelligent handling of the many complicated questions of our daily life which demand patient and continuous attention. It was in continuation of efforts begun a generation ago at the first Peace Conference at The Hague that the Permanent Court of International Justice was established in 1921; and the very promising start of its career during the past five years seems to warrant the belief that a great extension of law and order has already been achieved, and that as a supplement to the Council of the League of Nations the Court may be expected to render signal service as a guardian of the world's peace. It now remains for us to consider some of the phases of the current development of an international law which may meet the needs of our world society more adequately than they have been met by the law of the past.

Before the beginning of those changes in our industrial life and in the methods of transportation and communication which were destined to revolutionize international society, the body of doctrine and received tradition which had been developed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries on the inspiration of Grotius may have served with some degree of adequacy the needs of a limited community of states. As was pointed out by my friend and colleague, Professor James W. Garner, in the Tagore Law Lectures for 1922, that " system of international law was of European origin and until near the end of the eighteenth century there were no states outside Europe to which its rules applied."[1] One of the most important developments of the nineteenth century was the universalization of the system, and the abandonment of the narrow assumption that international law was applicable only to the so-called Christian states. If there are still certain communities which do not possess the full protection of international law, we have at any rate abandoned the theory of its connection with a particular religion or a particular kind of civilization.

But throughout the nineteenth century, the development of international law was impeded, it was prevented from keeping pace with the growth of the international community and indeed with the progress of juristic science in general, by the prevailing philosophy as to its nature and purpose and by lack of agencies which could devote to it their consistent effort. The law of nations was made to depend upon the law of nature, and to partake of its unchangeable and unmalleable qualities. Only two generations ago, a distinguished writer on international law in my own country introduced his treaties with the explanation that " the creator of man has implanted in his nature certain conceptions which we call rights, to which in every case obligations correspond ";[2] and but recently important bodies have approached the subject with an apparent desire to discover somewhere outside the reach of man fundamental principles which must govern international life whether we like them or not.[3]

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[1] Garner, *Recent Developments in International Law* (1925), page 23. See, however, Pramathanath Bandyopadhyay, *International Law and Custom in Ancient India* Calcutta, 1925.

[2] Woolsey, *International Law* (1860), page 1.

Almost any modern treatise on international law will show traces of the philosophy of natural rights, which by its rationalization of an "anarchy of sovereignties" has latterly had the anti-social effect of increasing the difficulties of organizing the society of nations under a universal law. That philosophy continued the emphasis on national independence at a time when we have so needed to recognize nations' growing interdependence. It operated to kill the confidence of jurists in themselves and in the efficacy of juristic effort[4]. It served to content them with a thesis, based upon the doctrine of evolution, that progress could only come as an automatic process through the unfolding of the ages. But I think these early years of the twentieth century have made us dissatisfied with the mere lengthening and broadening of past heritages, and a determination is growing that we must strike out along new lines of our own drawing, to work our own juristic salvation. I am confident of the prediction with which Professor Garner closed his lectures four years ago, that "more and more there will be a shifting of emphasis from the rights of states to duties; from individual to collective responsibility; from national sovereignty to international control; from independence to interdependence, and ultimately the law governing the relations of states will tend to become less and less international and more and more supernational."[5]

This must not be taken to mean that I place an underestimate on the efforts made during the past decades to improve the rules of international law. If such efforts have not been attended with as great success as we could have wished, they have had some significant results and have served to keep alive our determination and desire for improvement. In an era when so many Western nations were expanding and when so much attention was being given to the increase of military and naval establishments, it was quite natural that many of these efforts should have been devoted to changes in the laws stated to govern the conduct of warfare. In 1856, the Congress of Paris adopted important regulations dealing with privateering, blockade and the immunity from capture at sea of private property on neutral vessels, which have since been recognized to exist by states not there represented. In 1864, the Conference of Geneva drew up a convention for the amelioration of the condition of the wounded in war, which expressed the humanitarian tendency of the time. In 1874, the representatives of fifteen European states met in conference at Brussels and attempted to codify the rules of international law governing the conduct of war on land, but the Declaration of Brussels was not ratified. Much of the time of the two Peace Conferences at The Hague was given to a consideration of the laws of war, and eleven of the thirteen conventions adopted in 1907 related to them; but the effort to supplement this body of new law with the declaration of London of 1909, relating to naval warfare, was doomed to failure.

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[3] See the Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Nations, adopted by the American Institute of International Law, at Washington, January 6, 1916.

[4] "The nineteenth century achieved relatively so little in international law" because "the jurists of the last century had no confidence in themselves *qua* jurists." Roscoe Pound, in Bibliotheca Visseriana, I. p. 88.

[5] Garner, *Recent Developments in International Law* (1925), page 818.

The experience gained during the World War has probably undermined the confidence of many people in the utility of such efforts. War psychology does not encourage a respect for the restraints of law, and a nation which feels that it has its back to the wall is not likely to forego the advantages seen by its military experts in a certain course of action, even though it be forbidden by some formal enactment. The doctrines of *rebus sic stantibus* and of retaliation, and the vagaries of opinion controlled by the censorship of news, stand ever ready to neutralize the stirrings of conscience on such occasions. People at war are eager enough to find a law that will restrain their enemies, but they are no less supple in their ability to discover reasons why it does not restrain themselves.

The end of the War seems to have been followed by a revulsion against any continuance of these efforts to legislate for the conduct of war. It is true that the Advisory Committee of Jurists, meeting at The Hague in 1920, adopted an ill-timed recommendation that a conference be held to formulate and approve "the modifications and additions rendered necessary or advisable by the war." Such a conference at that time, from which Germany and Russia and Turkey would almost certainly have been excluded, would have been little short of mockery. At the Washington Conference on Limitation of Armaments in 1922, a convention was drawn up concerning the use of submarines and gases, but it has never been ratified. The Washington Conference also set up a commission of jurists to consider whether "existing rules of international law adequately cover new methods of attack or defense resulting from the introduction or development, since the Hague Conference of 1907, of new agencies of warfare"; but the mandate of this commission was afterwards restricted, and its report sleeps to-day in the archives of the Foreign Offices. The Committee of Experts on the Progressive Codification of International Law, set up by the Assembly and Council of the League of Nations in 1924, has so far adjourned consideration of the problems connected with war and neutrality, and the whole tendency to-day seems to be opposed to continuing the effort to develop the laws of war. Perhaps, these threads have been dropped but temporarily; the fissures caused by the excess of the War are not yet well-healed, and the professional military and naval men now seem disagreed as to the instrumentalities which might be used in a future war. But for the present, at any rate, it seems that attention, can more profitably be given to the development of the law of peace and a law which will better guard the peace.

It is very disappointing that so little common action was directed to legislative changes in the general law of peace during the nineteenth century. There are a few notable instances, such as the pronouncement of questionable soundness concerning the binding nature of treaties, made by the London Conference of 1871. But for the greater part of the century, there was no machinery available and no method accepted for legislative activity. The community of states was thought to be governed by law, but it lacked any legislative agencies which could attempt to fashion the law to meet its needs. Only as some acute situation developed, or as some peace treaty had to be made, was it possible for statesmen to meet and to give their attention even incidentally to some glaring legislative need. While world society was in the throes of revolutionary changes, it lacked both a legislature to make new law and a court to apply it after it was made. But in the latter half of the century, the growing frequency of bilateral treaties and of general conferences offered some relief. The various international unions were established by a process of legislation by conference, and the multipartite treaties of that period deserve to rank as an important part of international law. Many of the formal writers have not considered them as such, but have stuck to the classic materials and neglected them altogether. Indeed, one may read an edition of Hall's treatise on international law, prepared within the last three years, and remain quite ignorant of the fact that these unions even exist. But there is a growing disposition to-day to study all of the jural materials of our world society, and I hope the day is not far distant when all of these multilateral conventions will be fully received into our treatises. Certainly, we, in the universities, have no excuse for neglecting them. Unless we teach the living law, it were better that we should not teach at all.

I think one may sense the influence of international organization on the growth of international law by turning to a book published in America in 1872. Its author, David Dudley Field, had been prominently identified with the codification movement of his time; and impressed by the changes in international communication in which his brother, Cyrus W. Field, had taken part by laying the first successful cable across the Atlantic Ocean, he undertook to prepare the "Outlines of a Code of International Law." One part of his book was devoted to suggested "uniform regulations for mutual convenience," and those regulations covered the topics of shipping, imposts, quarantine, railways, telegraphs, postal service, patents, trademarks, copyrights, money, weights and measures, longitude and time, and sea signals. Those matters were practically all outside the scope of the international law existing at the time, for Field wrote before the great legislative activity which began with the establishment of the Universal Postal Union in 1874. Yet before the end of the century, most of them had been made the subject of legislation, and Field's list is now almost an index to the great multipartite law-making treaties which came into existence before the War.

With the establishment of new machinery for conference and the development of the conference method in the League of Nations, the period since the War has been one of great legislative activity. More important multipartite treaties were made in the first five years after the War than in the fifty years which had preceded it, and as a consequence we have to-day a vast body of new international legislation which is of constant application in the daily lives of many nations of the world. The Paris Peace Conference, itself, was regarded by many people as a golden opportunity for enabling international law to catch up with international life, and some of the legislation inspired at Paris related but remotely to liquidating the problems created by the War. Soon afterwards, and even before the Treaty of Versailles came into effect, the first International Labour Conference was held at Washington, and whereas but two conventions for the international protection of labour had resulted from a generation of effort before the War, in the past seven years twenty-three conventions have been adopted by the International Labour Conference and most of them have been widely ratified. I know you are proud of the fact that India has been one of the leading states in the acceptance of this international legislation. The legislative process has been actively continued in many different fields by conferences held under the auspices of the League of Nations, and I am inclined to regard it as being as significant as any of the results of the establishment of the League of Nations. The most recent product of this activity is the Slavery Convention, which was drawn up at the Seventh Assembly in 1926, and signed on behalf of India and some twenty-four other states. This convention binds the signatory states to undertake the suppression of the slave trade and to bring about progressively, and as soon as possible the disappearance of slavery in every form. Such legislation must be of special interest in India, in view of the efforts now under way to abolish the vestiges of slavery in Upper Burma.

If it is not improper to speak of these numerous international conventions as international legislation and as a part of international law it must nevertheless be borne in mind that they have not been ratified by all states, not even by all Members of the League of Nations, and no powers have been delegated or assumed which would make them binding on states which have not ratified them. If one were using the term legislation in the sense in which it applies to the acts of a national parliament, of course it would not be apt in this connection. But international legistation has always been different. No one would think of stating the international law applicable to international rivers without reference to the rules adopted by the Congress of Vienna in 1815 ; yet but few states were represented at that Congress, and the rules have never been formally binding on all others. Similarly, the Declaration of Paris of 1856 was promulgated by a few Powers, but its influence has extended to a wider circle ; almost as a matter of course it was adopted by the belligerents in the Spanish-American War of 1898. Likewise, reference is commonly made to the formulations of The Hague Peace Conferences by Powers that have never been bound by them as a result of formal ratification. It would be improper to treat all multipartite conventions as having the same value as law-making measures ; but it would be equally improper to deny them any value as such.

Disappointment was expressed by the Seventh Assembly that these multipartite conventions resulting from League of Nations conferences had not been more generally ratified. Perhaps delegates sent to international conferences sometimes act in advance of the views of their own governments. The participation of parliamentary bodies in the exercise of the treaty-making power in many countries has been a factor which has made for delay in ratification, where conventions have not been rejected altogether. But, doubtless, the chief reason is that in most countries international problems which are not urgent must yield place, in the appeal for official attention, to domestic problems which are more likely to affect government stability. It is not easy, therefore, to see a remedy for this situation. It is important that multipartite convention should contain some provision looking to the possibility of its revision from time to time, and the inclusion of such provisions is now becoming an established practice. Perhaps some method can be devised for keeping officials in various governments more continually mindful of the problem of ratification—the Seventh Assembly invited the Council to call for a report every six months on the progress of ratification ; but it is not a situation in which any simple device is likely to be of much service. We may have to do a good deal of stumbling before we arrive at more effective methods.

The growth of international law since the War has also included a rapid development of the law of international arbitration. Not only in the number but also in the content of arbitration treaties, a great gain has been made. Many nations have discarded the formula reserving questions pertaining to national honor and vital interest, and have made all-inclusive treaties of arbitration. The lead has been taken by Switzerland and the Scandinavian states, and it has been followed in the treaties drawn up at Locarno, which came into force when Germany was admitted to membership in the League of Nations last September. Only a month ago, an important arbitration treaty was signed on behalf of Germany and Italy. A current usually flows in but part of a stream, and there are still instances of treaties which follow the pre-War model ; for instance, the treaty between the United States of America and Sweden, signed in 1924. But the existence of the Permanent Court of International Justice has proved a great boon to arbitration, and more all-inclusive treaties seem probable for the future. Various groups of states have also created conciliation commissions in the last few years, inspired, in some instances at any rate, by the resolution of the Assembly of the League of Nations, of September 22, 1922. Such increase in the machinery for arbitration and conciliation has added new importance to the law of arbitral procedure, and a recent book on that subject[6] furnishes a guide which has long been needed.

If some lawyers are tempted at times to underestimate the importance of these recent legislative developments of international law, I take it that Indian and Anglo-American lawyers will not be tempted to place light estimate on the possibility, now opened to us for the first time by the creation of the Permanent Court of International Justice, of our getting in time a new body of international case-law. Throughout the nineteenth century, the judicial development of international law depended largely on the decisions of national courts, which were seldom separable from the commitments of national policy. There were the decisions and awards of various arbitration tribunals and claims commissions, some of which were notable for their influence, but they never formed a volume of developed precedents. The more consistent decisions of single judges in national courts, such as Lord Stowell in England and Chief Justice Marshall in America, did much to determine the course of the development of international law—particularly when such judges had a faculty for inventing quotable phrases. Nor was there a cumulation of a consistent case-law in the awards of the tribunals of the Permanent Court of Arbitration—the cases were too variant and infrequent, and the personnel too changing. But with the creation of the Permanent Court of International Justice, we may hope that a new opportunity has been created. The Statute of the Court provides (article 59) that its decisions have "no binding force except between the parties and in respect of" the particular cases decided. If this is an enactment of the civil law as opposed to the common law conception of the force of precedents, still it does not forbid the Court's following and citing its previous decisions. Already, this has been done a number of times ; and if the record of the past five years can be continued for another generation, I think there can be little doubt that in a relatively short time we shall have at hand a body of precedents which will be of inestimable value. This may be one of the chief advantages in having a permanent group of trained judges devoting their time to the international administration of justice. If I am too sanguine in my expectations, it is nevertheless clear that scholars a generation hence will be assisted by jural materials which we do not have to-day, and for the lack of which we are clearly handicapped. It will always be true that there is a great variety in the international cases which actually come to adjudication, just as there is a similar variety in the cases decided by national courts.

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[6] Ralston, *The Law and Procedure of International Tribunals* (1926).

The legislative process which I have described, and the evolution of case-law which seems in prospect, may still leave parts of the field of international law unaffected for some time to come ; and possibly there will be lacunae in our legal system where needs will go unfilled and where opportunities for further progress will be missed, if other approaches are not made. It is important, therefore, that some more comprehensive effort be undertaken, and it is widely insisted that such effort should take the form of a codification of international law. The term 'codification' seems to be very differently understood by different people. To some it has come to connote the erection of a great bulwark against war. It has seemed axiomatic to many laymen that there is nothing for an international court to do unless it is furnished with a code which it may administer and apply ; and because we have no comprehensive code at the present time it has been assumed in some quarters, not always by laymen surprisingly enough, that the Permanent Court of International Justice is acting in a vacuum. Such a view takes scant account of the many multipartite conventions which I have described, and of the great increase in the number of other treaties which is indicated by the registration of more than thirteen hundred current treaties with the Secretariat of the League of Nations during the past seven years. But it is urged that the enactment of a code is a *sine qua non* of the usefulness of the Permanent Court of International Justice, and people not infrequently jump to the conclusion that with a code and a court to apply it there need be no more disputes which might lead to war. On the other hand, the very term 'codification' conjures in some minds visions of a structure in the air, and of impracticable attempts to foist on the world an artificial system of mondial law which would have no relation to the facts of international life. Curiously, this latter view seems to prevail more generally in countries where more or less complete codes of national law are in force. The former group have come to speak of codification as the key to the temple of peace, the latter group have been so frightened by the term that they have lost all willingness to join in any effort to which it may be applied. Now I think it is clear that both of these views are extreme. The very euphony of the word 'codification' has led to its application to many varying sorts of processes, and perhaps some differentiation of them will show us a better approach.

Codification is employed, first of all, by people who are very dissatisfied with our present law, who are frequently not too conversant with the kinds of development which we have been considering, and who desire to see new legislation which will effect certain reforms. In latter years, a reform widely urged is the so-called outlawry of war. That is an end which I think most of us would like to realize, but the nature of the legislation which would achieve it is not so clear. A mere fiat might help, but few of us would expect it to execute itself. Certainly a great advance was made in the Covenant of the League of Nations when a certain procedure was prescribed as a condition precedent to the beginning of hostilities. In 1924, a further effort in this direction was made when the Protocol of Geneva was drawn up by the fifth Assembly of the League of Nations ; but that instrument proved to be either in advance of the time, or incompatible with the ambitions and fears of certain Powers. The success of Locarno then removed the greatest pressure pushing for such a measure, and though we may come back to it, especially if the anticipated Disarmament Conference should be a great success, this attempt at framing a comprehensive legislation to outlaw war has for the present been abandoned. Codification in this sense is not now on the tapis. Nor does it seem practicable to attempt a comprehensive legislative effort with reference to such subjects as are now being dealt with by separate multipartite conventions. They require the attention of many kinds of experts, and cannot be entrusted to lawyers upon whom the task of codification usually falls.

In a second sense in which the term is used, codification refers to the process of introducing uniformity into the national laws of various countries, covering fields in which such national laws already exist. Thus interpreted, much of the output of the International Labour Conferences may be explained as codification, for many of the twenty-three recent labor conventions have as their chief purpose the harmonizing of various national legislations so that one country may not possess advantages over its industrial competitors gained at the expense of industrial laborers. In this way also, the efforts of the International Maritime Committee have been most fruitful; its convention on immunity of state-owned ships from foreign local jurisdiction, which was signed at Brussels on April 10, 1926, by the representatives of seventeen states, is a striking example of the success of its persistent efforts. The President of the Committee has recently assured us that "the time is not far off when by far the greatest part of the law relating to maritime commerce and ship-owning will be uniform."[7] The conventions signed at the several Hague conferences on private international law introduced a measure of uniformity into certain parts of the private law of various European courtries, but the movement to codify private international law in this way has met with little favour where the Anglo-American system of law prevails. On the continent of North America, where more than fifty-seven separate jurisdictions apply local law, considerable progress toward uniformity has been made through the work of the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws in the United States, and the Conference of Commissioners on Uniformity of Legislation in Canada. But there are limits to what can be done, and indeed to what it is desirable to do in this direction, and such codification of international law is not likely to satisfy the popular insistence of the present time.

In a third sense, the term 'codification' is used to cover a re-statement of the principles of our classic international law as it is now applied in the modern world, its adaptation to changed conditions in some respects, and its extension to fill some of the lacunae which may be found to exist. Such an effort is likely to prove far removed from a dealing with the chief subjects of such serious international controversy as will endanger the world's peace, and if it succeeds even in generous measure it will probably give but limited satisfaction to the non-professional people who in recent years have looked to codification for relief from war. But systematic development of this sort seems essential at this time if international law is to follow the course of other changes in world society, and agencies are now at work which promise that the need is not to be neglected.

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[7] M. Louis Franck, in 42 *Law Quarterly Review*, page 25.

In 1924, the Assembly and Council of the League of Nations created a Committee of Experts for the Progressive Codification of International Law, which is directed "to prepare a provisional list of the subjects of international law the regulation of which by international agreement would seem to be the most desirable and realisable at the present moment," and "to report to the Council on the questions which are sufficiently ripe and on the procedure which might be followed with a view to preparing eventually for conferences for their solution." The personnel of the Committee represents the main forms of civilization and the principal legal systems of the world, and I think you will agree that it includes a worthy representative of India in Sir Abdur Rahim. Two meetings have already been held, at the first of which in 1925 eleven topics were selected for investigation and consideration, and sub-committees were constituted for their exploration; and at the second of which in 1926, three of these topics were eleminated, and seven questionnaires on others were prepared for circulation to the governments of the various states, whether Members of the League of Nations or not. I think opinion is not unanimous as to the beginning which has been made, and the work of the Committee did not escape criticism at the Seventh Assembly last September. It remains to be seen whether the method of questionnaires adopted will produce helpful results; some of them put too much burden on the Foreign Offices which must consider them, and by presenting for criticism views and drafts which do not represent the result of a careful preliminary hammering by various minds the Committee may seem to have prematurely sought the expression of responsible opinion. Nor has the line always been sharply drawn between the limited functions of the Committee and those functions which must eventually devolve on diplomatic conferences if legislative activity is later undertaken. The Committee's deliberations may also occasion some disappointment to the oversanguine because of a vein of pessimism which has at times cropped out; after enumerating several serious questions as to the law of extradition, for example, questions which would surely lend themselves to common solution by determined effort, it was decided that the difficulties were so great that nothing should be attempted and that subject was dropped from inclusion in the Committee's list. But these criticisms are not so serious that we should blind our eyes to the advance which the mere existence of such an agency represents, nor to the prospect which it opens up. We have learned from the experience of the International Maritime Committee that progress in this field demands long and patient effort. The greatest codification effort of modern times, that which resulted in the German Civil Code, occupied many jurists for a generation. For my part I should like to look forward to a continuance of the work of this League of Nations committee for a quarter of a century, and if it can go on so long I do not doubt that some important achievement may then be set down to it, and I shall then wish it be continued for another period equally long.

Another somewhat similar effort which is under way owes its inception to the creation of an International Committee of Jurists by a convention adopted by the Conference of American States which met at Rio de Janeiro in 1906. Previously, at the Conference in Mexico in 1902, a convention had been signed for setting up a committee of five American and two European jurists to draft a code of international law, but it had not been put into effect by ratification. Delay was experienced in the ratification of the Rio de Janeiro convention also, and the

Committee did not meet until 1912. Its work was then interrupted by the War, and though it was reconstituted at the Santiago Conference in 1923, it has not yet held a second meeting. But the executive committee of the American Institute of International Law, acting on the invitation of the Governing Board on the Pan-American Union, has prepared a series of thirty projects of international law conventions, which are to be submitted to the Committee when it meets. Until these are adopted as a basis of the Committee's work, they may be thought to occupy a position somewhat analogous to that of the resolutions of the Institute of International Law, which though they have had wide influence have seldom formed the basis of the action of official international conferences. But it is interesting to note the variety of subjects with which the thirty projects deal, and their general emphasis on co-operation "to insure the maintenance of peace and to foster the spirit of mutual trust." My own opinion would have been that the projects are too largely devoted to an attempt to stereotype the philosophy of the international law of the past, a dangerous thing for any generation to undertake. It is notable, however, that unlike the conventions adopted by the Peace Conference at The Hague, all of these projects deal with the law of peace, the declaration being proposed that "the American Republics are more interested in regulations concerning the peaceful relations of the nations and neutrality than in those concerning war, in the hope that the latter has happily and for ever vanished from the American Continent."

With these efforts under way, I think that we may hope that the term 'codification' will be given a practical and realizable content during the coming generation and that steps will be taken which will appreciably further the development of the law of nations. We cannot look forward to the adoption within that period of a global code which will compress all international law into the same kind of dimensions as your Indian Penal Code. We cannot know that the present lines are those which may most usefully be followed. We cannot hope that the coming history will contain no records of failure. We can hardly entertain any illusion that the success of this process will appreciably diminish the likelihood of war. I can imagine that all of the topics selected by the Committee of Experts for the Progressive Codification of International Law might be made the subjects of conventions, and all the projects of the American Institute of International Law might be signed and ratified, without having very profound influence for the maintenance of peace. But I think we shall have travelled far if we can replace the juristic helplessness of the nineteenth century with a twentieth century faith in the efficacy of conscious effort. The tasks that lie ahead of us challenge us to mobilize the best of our professional intelligence. Fortunately they do not demand the world's passing through another dark decade such as that which began in 1914. Our willingness to pursue them should not depend on pressure coming from the vagaries of popular clamour. Our generation has a romantic opportunity to make the twentieth century more significant in the history of international law than the seventeenth century became as a result of the work of Grotius.

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What then is the importance of current international co-operation? With what perspective shall we view it, and what vista does it open? I have attempted to trace the growth of a new world society as a consequence of the far-reaching changes effected in the lives of all peoples during the course of the past century. I hope I am not wrong in finding the world of states of to-day very different from the world of states as it existed before there were any railroads, any steamships, any telegraphs, any telephones, and before mechanical invention had revolutionized industry. I hope I have not been too sanguine in describing what is being attempted during these recent years to meet the new conditions of life. The half-century which saw the beginning of the Universal Postal Union also saw the beginning of the use of a new method of conference in the League of Nations, and so manifold are the activities now centering at Geneva that they touch the daily lives of all peoples, whether or not they have signed the parchment called the Covenant. The work begun at The Hague a quarter of a century ago has come to fruition in the establishment of the Permanent Court of International Justice, which is already on the high road to essential service. A fast-growing body of international law is freeing itself gradually from the obsolete vestiges of a former era, and is being brought into closer correspondence with the needs of the time which it serves. I think we may say that we are making progress toward transforming our world society into an organized community, and that it promises to become a community in which human endeavor, if not freed from the imminent possibility of defeat by war and strife, will be less subject to that fate than it has been in the past. And if we can trust ourselves for a glimpse into the future, I think we may say that mankind is moving slowly toward a larger loyalty.

MANLEY O. HUDSON

Delivered at the Calcutta University, February 3, 1927. A chapter from *Current International Co-operation*, to be published by the University of Calcutta.

NATIONALISM AND IMPERIALSIM IN WORLD POLITICS[1]

It is generally regarded that politics is really a reflex of economics ; so the cross-currents in national politics are to be found in the divergent economic interests of various groups forming a nation. Similarly, the determining factors in rivalries in world politics are international economic competition among the sovereign states and in most cases among the imperialist powers of the world. Thus imperialism, economic imperialism in particular, is regarded to be the primary cause of all the international conflicts of the present age.

To competent observers, it is quite clear that the theory of "economic determinism" which reduces man to a mere machine devoid of idealism and other forms of emotion, fails to explain world events of vast consequences, such as the World War. It must be admitted that economic imperialism is a great factor, but the part played by the rising tide of nationalism in bringing about wars is not negligible. In fact, there cannot be any modern imperialism without nationalism; and nationalism cannot make its vigorous assertion among any people, unless the sense of nationality becomes the most dominant factor in its life. This being the case, those who are genuinely interested in fathoming the causes of international conflicts and the way out of them, must have to study various factors involved in militant nationalism, which in course of time takes the form of aggressive and expansive imperialism.

Dr. Carlton J. H. Hayes, Professor of History in Columbia University, in his brilliant work on *Essays on Nationalism*, possibly for the first time, in English language, presents a comprehensive philosophical and historical study of the various factors of nationalism. At the outset he discusses "What is Nationalism?" and shows its complex character, based upon linguistic, racial and cultural aspects. He comes to various interesting conclusions and some of them should be carefully noted :

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[1] *Essays on Nationalism*, by Prof. Carlton J. H. Hayes. New York. The Macmillan Company, 1926, Price $2,50.

Imperialism and World Politics, by Prof. Parker T. Moon. New York. The Macmillan Company, 1926. Price $4.50.

> "A national state is always based upon nationality, but nationality may exist without a national state. A state is essentially political; a nationality is primarily cultural and incidentally political."

To Prof. Hayes it is a myth to claim that nationality is determined purely by race. In fact, he rightly asserts that "purity of race, if it exists at all, exists now-a-days only among the uncivilized tribesmen." In a detailed historical, anthropological as well as sociological discussion, he disproves the claim of men who preach special superiority for Nordics and some special racial groups. He established the following hypothesis :

> "Nationality rests upon cultural foundations, that nationality is any group of persons who speaks a common language, who cherishes common historical traditions, and who constitute or think that they constitute a distinct cultural society in which, among other factors religion and politics may have played important though not necessarily continuous roles. Thus defined, nationality has existed from the earliest times of which history and anthropology can treat."
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> "Present day nationalism involves a condition of mind among members of a nationality, perhaps possessed of a national state, a condition of mind in which loyalty to the ideal or to the fact of one's national state is superior to all other loyalties and of which pride in one's nationality and belief in its intrinsic excellence and in its "mission" are integral parts ......It is this nationalism which colours thought and conditions action in political, social and cultural spheres, in domestic politics and in our foreign relations."
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> "Nationality has always existed. Patriotism has long existed, either as applied to a locality or as extended to an empire. But the fusion of patriotism with nationality and the predominance of national patriotism over all other human loyalties—which is nationalism—is modern, very modern."

In the development of nationalism in its present form, the Crusade, Romanticism, the French Revolution, and Industrial

Revolution have played important parts. But nationalist scholars with their sometimes imperfect and modern propaganda machines, have made it possible to make the sense of nationalism—something very idealistic and grand, for which men are willing to die—so wide spread among the masses. Without mass education, effective propaganda on a large scale, is not possible ; and this has been one of the most important reasons for the nationalists always demanding "mass education" and on nationalistic basis. In this age, as in the past propaganda is a very effective weapon to secure human support in a cause, however dangerous it may be. The Chinese nationalists have marvellously exhibited this in their recent campaigns.

In fact to-day nationalism has become a type of religion ; and in the chapter on "Nationalism As a Religion," Prof. Hayes discusses this phenomenon in a masterly fashion and shows how the military heroes of nations have taken the place of saints and prophets. This is true all over the west, and it is bound to be so in the East. In fact to-day the Chinese nationalists who are Christians are demading that the name of a Jesuit School be changed into the Sun Yat-Sen School. The Kuo-Ming-tang or the Chinese nationalists are demanding that teaching of religion be replaced by the teaching of the creed of Chinese nationalist movement as enunciated by its founder, the late Dr. Sun Yat-Sen. Even in Soviet Russia where religion has supposedly no place, teaching of Communism and the doctrines of Lenin, have taken the place of teaching of the Bible, and pictures and statues of Linen have displaced the ikon and religious symbols. However the religion of nationalism differs from the other world religions. They exerted unifying influence, whereas modern nationalism in its exaggerated sense has become a force which separates peoples.

Nationalism has very close relation with militarism and international wars. In fact nationalist wars—wars for national self-determination or independence and wars for national aggrandisement—have taken the place of dynastic and religious wars of the past. Nationalism in its aggressive character leads to irredanta-ism and various "pan movements" such as Pan-Slavism, Pan-Germanism, Pan-Latinism and Pan-Anglo-Saxonism, which not only breed war, but fosters racial and religous hatred of vicious character.

The spirit of nationalism in its purest form with its idealism, like individualism, is not a curse. But as unbridled individualism often degenerates into utter selfishness which is decidedly anti-social, similarly when nationalism takes the form of "my country right or wrong" and assumes the attitude of ignoring rights of others, it becomes a curse to international society. Unfortunately the tendency is that a dominant nationalism, becomes power-mad and extols tribal selfishness, ignorant and tyrannical intolerance and war.

> "Nationalism, unless it be rendered critical instead of ignorant, humble instead of proud, does not promise, despite its proved modernity, despite its admitted idealism, to promote real human progress. It promises not to unify, but to disintegrate the world; not to preserve and create but to destroy, civilization."

Prof. Hayes reminds his readers that "to urge the mitigation of nationalism and propagation of internationalism is not to decry patriotism. Rather it is to purify and exalt true patriotism." To promote human fellowship and international co-operation, in place of war, it is not necessary that cosmopolitanism should take the place of nationalism. Education is the most effective medium to promote international amity.

> " Almost everything depends, in the last analysis, upon our national schools, and particularly upon the teaching of social sciences within our national schools. For above our nationality, above all nationalities, though many persons of our age forget it, there still is humanity; and humanity is the very stuff of the social sciences."

III

Dr. Parker Thomas Moon, Professor of International Relations in Columbia University, in his recent work "Imperialism and World Politics," presents a careful survey of the dominating part played by imperialist powers of the world in the field of world politics of our time. The book is unique of its kind; in the discussions of important problems of World Politics since 1871, the author does not follow the conventionalized, chronological narratives of European diplomacy, but presents a realistic world view. Titles of a few main topics discussed in the book will give an idea of the scope of the work—Why Europe shouldered the White man's Burden? Dynamics of Imperialism, Five Decades of Business and Diplomatic Bargaining in West Africa, The Conquest and Exploitation of East Africa, The Legacy of Cecil Rhodes, North Africa and Great Powers, Near Eastern Question Old and New, Anglo-Russian Rivalry, In the Middle East, Imperialism in Southern Asia, The Battle of Concessions in the Far East, Fortunes of War and Profits of Peace in Pacific Islands, The Policy of the United States Toward Latin America, The League of Nations and Its Mandates and others.

Study of this excellent and comprehensive work on World Politics will make one realize that if one takes a world view of the recent diplomatic history of the world then he will be convinced that "almost without exception, they were but surface manifestation of the swift deep currents of imperialism." It is worthwhile to note some of the conclusions arrived at by Professor Moon :—

> " The greatest war the twentieth century had witnessed before 1914 was the purely imperialist Russo-Japanese struggle for Korea and Manchuria. And the greatest of all wars was caused more by imperialism than by any other single factor. Americans who prefer to believe that the catastrophe of 1914 was brought about by the personal vagaries of William Hohenzollern may cherish their belief if they will, but the facts are opposed to it. The very alignment of European powers was dictated by imperialism, not by race or democracy or by kinship of culture. Germany, Austria-Hungary and Turkey were allied by the Tutonic domination of the Near East. Republican France and monarchist England were bound together by the far-reaching imperialist bargain of 1904 ; the liberal England and tsarist Russia, by an agreement of 1907 regarding imperialist interests in Persia, Afghanistan, Tibet.

"It is easy to heap up the evidence, though no labored proof is intended here. When the German Ambassador in 1914 offered to respect the integrity of Belgium and France, the significant question of Sir Edward Grey was whether Germany intended to take French colonies. During the war, even when hardest pressed on the battle fields of France, the Allies spared troops to conquer the German colonies and occupy those choice portions of Turkey. When the German Government secretly formulated its war-aims for communication to President Wilson, a large share of the world's colonies was the important point. The Allies, for their part, while professing publicly their interest in small nations and the sanctity of treaties, quietly arranged by a series of secret treaties the division to be made of Germany's colonies and of Turkey if victory should be theirs. And when victory was achieved, the Allies made it one of their first concerns at the Paris Peace Conference to wring from President Wilson's unwilling lips an assurance that, though the coveted colonial and Near Eastern territories might be nominally internationalized as 'mandates' the mandates would be given to the Allies in accordance with the secret treaties.

"Contrary to a quite general impression, imperialism is not a closed story now that the German colonies have been divided. The climax has not yet been reached ; the denouement is still uncertain. Never was the imperialist rivalry so keen as after the Great War. We are now entering a period of intensified international economic competition, in which the problem of imperialism is becoming all the more acute because most of the backward areas available for colonies have been appropriated."

In every chapter of this interesting study of Imperialism and World Politics, Prof. Moon points out facts to prove that the so-called backward nations in Asia and Africa have formed the alluring stake of diplomacy. Even to-day the statesmen of the west are doing their level best to keep their hold on these profitable regions. The display of force and interference in China's internal affairs by armed forces of foreign nations, in violation of all the existing canons of international law, is actuated by no other motive but preserving imperialist domination over the awakened millions of the East. In this connection Prof. Moon asks the following question, which might be food for thought :

"The day is dawning when the deficiencies which made these peoples 'backward' and impotent in the face of European imperialism will no longer exist, and like Japan, such countries as China, India, Persia, Egypt, Turkey, Siam, perhaps even parts of Africa will use the machines and the weapons and respond to the nationalistic and democratic sentiments which have giyen Europe her seemingly impregnable world mastary. India has 320 millions to Great Britain's 44 millions of inhabitants ; China has possibly 400 millions to the 39 millions of France ; Asia and Africa have over a billion of Europe's half-billion. The imperialist 'Great Powers' of to-day are but pigmies prodding giants into activity. Which will be the Great Powers of to-morrow ?"

This question will be answered in near future by the nationalist Young Asia and Young Africa. It is our hope that they will work ardently to free their people from foreign yoke and prove by their scientific achievement that they will enrich human civilization by their contribution. Let us .hope that the wars of national independence or self-determination which are being carried on in Asia and Africa will not end in aggressive nationalism, ignoring Humanity and advocating and championing imperialism. The price generally paid for imperial aggrandisement is not worth the sacrifice of the best in human nature.

Prof. Moon raises the question "Does Imperialism Pay ?" "Is it necessary for national Prosperity ?" He tackles the arguments generally advanced by the advocates of imperialism and proves that to secure market for surplus production, to make room for surplus population, and to assure the supply of raw materials, and even to propagate cultural missions, domination and economic exploitation of other peoples is not necessary. Through the increase of national efficiency and international co-operation, nations individually and humanity collectively can be far more benefited than by any scheme of imperialism.

It is the fashion to-day to minimise the aggressive attitude of present day imperialism. Some plead that British Empire is not an imperialistic endeavor, any longer ; as its spirit is to transform the empire into a Commonwealth of Nations. Others plead that the ascendency of Soviet regime in Russia has wiped out the menace of Russian imperialism. It will be interesting to note Prof. Moon's conclusions on these particular questions :

> "It is now the fashion to substitute the new term, 'British Commonwealth of Nations' for the old name, 'British Empire' but only if one ignores all except the self-governing colonies is the new name more accurate than the old. In addition to the Dominions there is still the Empire. *Most of the Empire as regards population rather than area is coloured, and not self-governing. Moreover, the Dominions as they mature are being entrusted with a share in the task of governing the subject empire. South Africa and New Zealand have their mandates and dependencies. In short, there is both a British Commonwealth and a British Empire, and the Commonwealth rules the Empire.*"*
>
> "The Bolshevist Revolution, of course, has somewhat altered the situation [Russian imperialist expansion]. Northern Persia is no longer a Russian sphere of interest. Outer Mongolia, formerly a sphere of influence, has been occupied by Russian troops and partly sovietized, although Russia has promised to evacuate it. In Northern Manchuria, the Bolshevists have renounced some of the privileges obtained by the Tsar, yet they have attempted to control the Chinese Eastern Railway. The Russian dependencies in Central Asia have been given the new governments patterned on the soviet style, and 'allied' with rather than subject to Muscovite Russia. *In a word, while denouncing 'Capitalist imperialism", the Bolshevists have practised their own sort of Red Imperialism and retained most of the tsarist empire in Asia.* It is an empire so large that its economic development is beyond their industrial and financial capacity. Yet as her economic revival proceeds Russia may measure up to the task."

The greatest of the world problems of to-day is the rising tide of militant nationalism of over a billion people facing the oppressive yoke of Imperialist powers of the world for the solution of this problem. Prof. Hayes and Prof. Moon do not present any "pet formula," but they hope that "If the international public opinion" or to use Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler's happy phrase, "the international mind" continues to develop, then the fog of misinformation accumulated in the form of prejudice and venerable sentiment [greatness of imperialism] will be cleared. Once the fog is dissipated, perhaps those citadel of narrow vision will vanish, and in their place mankind may establish an edifice in which enlightened national interest and humane internationalism may be at one and at peace.''

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* All italics are mine.

Those who are interested in the above idea, and those who are anxious to serve the cause of international peace with intelligence and knowledge should carefully study these two books as text books full of very valuable information. These books will remain for sometime to come as outstanding contributions in the field of the study of nationalism and international relation.

TARAKNATH DAS

Reviews.

Leaves from a Viceroy's Note-book and other Papers, by the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston ; Macmillan and Co., Ltd. pp. X + 414 ; illustrated. Price 28/ net, 1926.

Lord Curzon's literary executors found a collection of essays in a more or less completed state which the gifted author had intended to publish in the future and which were designed by him "to form a sequel to his *Tales of Travel.*" With these essays were found a quantity of voluminous notes for a number of books on widely different subjects. The essays contained in the present volume were never revised by their author and their intrinsic value is best summed up by the executors when they commend their readers to read the stories "for their charm, their gaiety, their information and their style—a quartette of literary virtues which never fail to fascinate especially when they are combined so happily as in the present volume." The personality of Lord Curzon is stamped on every page. More than one third of the book deals with Indian topics, and the rest is concerned with miscellaneous subjects, such as—Morier's famous book, *Haji Baba*, in "The Old Persian," the wonderful description of Huè, the capital of Annam, and the Greek monasteries of the Levant. The first official visit to Goa by the Viceroy, was marked by incidents, both rehearsed and unrehearsed, and the various ceremonies attending his reception are fully described, as well as the lavish hospitality accorded to the Viceroy and Lady Curzon by the Governor-General of Portuguese India. One domestic detail is very amusing though the preparation of it must have been a work of trouble and anxiety. Lord Curzon describes it in the following words: "Baths, of the type favoured by the British in India, being unknown at Goa, a special bath-tub, resembling a wine vat of gargantuan proportions, had been imported for the occasion ; and, there being no bathroom in the house, it was placed in the corner of the drawing-room, where the removal of the spigot discharged its contents straight on to the floor." A very remarkable incident of this visit was the Viceroy's delivering of part of a speech in Portuguese through the kind offices of a lady who taught him the correct pronunciation *sotto voce* during the course of a state dinner at the Town Palace of the Governor-General. Lord Curzon was never more enthusiastic than in his description of the heroic conduct of three Englishmen employed by the Delhi Telegraph Office during the Mutiny. The only survivor of the trio was an old man of the name of Bendish, and the Viceroy asked for and obtained leave from King Edward to decorate him with the medal of the Victorian Order, which was presented to him on the occasion of the unveiling of the monument commemorating the heroic deed. The old man in his simplicity led the cheers which greeted him as he rose in his place! The tragic account of feuds existing even to-day in the Sikh community, and particularly of one, which ended in disastrous consequences for the family concerned, led Lord Curzon to make the following pertinent comment: "even in the twentieth century it is not always wise or desirable to apply Western criteria to the behaviour of Eastern peoples." The accounts of the "Installation" and the "Abdication" of ruling Princes will recall many unique facts among the past and also recent events in India.

A delicious humour pervades those pages in which is described the extraordinary and unappropriate hymns chosen for particular occasions and he mentions instances occurring as far apart as the Chapel at Eton and the Great Durbar held at Delhi in 1903. The Head Master and Provost of Eton during Lord Curzon's school days was Dr. Warre, who was very popular. When the hymn chosen to be sung at the Sunday service was the one containing the lines:

"When comes the promised time
When War (re) shall be no more?"

the boys, 600 in number, could not resist the temptation of shouting out the line at the top of their voices. The reason became so evident that the use of that hymn had to be abandoned. The other instance will appeal to our Indian readers. The hymn at first chosen for the male choir to sing at the Delhi Durbar contained the lines:

"Crowns and thrones may perish,
Kingdoms rise and wane."

Fortunately the inappropriateness of those lines was discovered in time, otherwise Indians would have been justified in believing that Delhi would have witnessed the downfall of the British Raj, as had been the case with the Hindu and Muslim dynasties which passed away after making Delhi (again) their capital. Perhaps the most fascinating chapter in the whole book is entitled "Inscriptions and Petitions," which the reader especially Indians, will not fail to appreciate. Lord Curzon's Privates, Secretaries used to preserve for his recreation some of the petitions and letters sent to him as Viceroy from time to time. A few extracts from these "gems" are given in the book. In describing these, Lord Curzon writes: "It must not be supposed, if I, or any one else, quote amusing specimens of what is commonly known as Babu English, that we do it with any idea of deriding the (? their) native intelligence, or of poking fun at its errors. On the contrary, one of the most remarkable experiences in India is the astonishing command of the English language—to them a foreign tongue—that is acquired by the better educated Indians, enabling them not merely to write, but to speak it with an accuracy and a fluency at which I have never ceased to wonder. The blunders and absurdities that find a frequent place in the Indian press are cited both because they strike a note of gaiety in the rather dull routine of Indian official life, and, still more because they often reveal a sense of humour on the part of the writers that is both quaint and refreshing. It is in this spirit only that I reproduce a number of extracts from my own collection." If Lord Curzon were so convinced of the command of the English language by educated Indians, there is no reason for giving specimens from the writings of uneducated people who wrote in a language foreign to them. It may be remarked that such solecisms would no less be found in compositions by the average European writing in an Oriental language.

The following may suffice as a sample quoted by Lord Curzon from an Indian newspaper which reported the speech of a Hindu Pleader of Barisal:

"My learned friend with mere wind from a teapot thinks to browbeat me from my legs. But this is mere gorilla warfare. I stand under the shoes of my client, and only seek to place my bone of contention clearly in your Honour's eye. My learned friend vainly runs amuck upon the sheet anchors of my case. Your Honour will be pleased enough to observe that my client is a widow, a poor chap with one postmortem son. A widow of this country, your Honour will be pleased to observe, is not like a widow of your Honour's country. A widow of this country is not able to eat more than one meal a day, or to wear clean clothes, or to look after a man. So my poor client has not such physic or mind as to be able to assault the lusty complainant. Yet she has (been) deprived of some of her more valuable leather, the leather of her nose. My learned friend has thrown only an argument *ad hominy* upon my teeth that my client's witnesses are only her own relations. But they are not near relations. Their relationship is only homœpathic. So the misty arguments of my learned friend will not hold water—at least they will not hold good water. Then my learned friend has said that there is on the side of his client a respectable witness, *viz.*, a pleader, and since this witness is independent so he should be believed. But your Honour, with your Honour's vast experience, is pleased enough to observe that truthfulness is not so plentiful as blackberries in this country. And I am sorry to say, though this witness is a man, of my own feathers, that there are in my profession black sheep of every complexion, and some of them do not always speak gospel truth.

Until the witness explains what has become of my client's nose leather he cannot be believed. He cannot be allowed to raise a castle in the air by beating upon a bush. So, trusting in that administration of British justice upon which the sun never sits, I close my case."

The description of the Plague Hospital and of its negligent officers show that besides being a keen observer, the Viceroy felt a personal interest in all things calculated to benefit humanity—a quality which sometimes appeared hidden under "a stiff and unbending exterior."

The value of the book is enhanced by the number of artistic photographs, including—Chitral, the Vale of Kashmir, a group of Buddhist monks belonging to the monastery of Ku-shan in China, and the Greek monasteries in the Levant. Lord Curzon describes in eloquent terms the beautiful scenery of Mount Athos situated on a promontory running for forty miles into the sea, "covered with the most exquisite sylvan verdure from end to end, watered by dancing rivulets and bubbling springs, and interspersed throughout this distance and on both faces with lovely valleys and enchanting glens, where, at points of vantage, on rocks or on the seashore, had been planted the monastic buildings." One of these monasteries is 1000 years old and contains wonderful treasures. Lord Curzon visited several others and they are all described with equal minuteness and vividness of language. All the monasteries are now on Greek territory and it seems curious that, that government does not extend its protection to the monasteries in the same manner as did the Turkish rulers before the territory was transferred to Greece. Under Turkish government no attempt was made to interfere with either the monks or their revenues. This conduct was not probably due to any respect for Christianity but rather to the desire to conciliate the members of that faith to their rule. The monastic establishments are now being allowed to die out and then the monasteries and their revenues will pass into the hands of the Greek government. The monasteries appealed to him in the same forcible manner as did the ancient temples of India many years after, an interest which, we regret, is often lacking in our countrymen who ought to prize more than they do the remains of our ancient glory. The natural beauties of the Yosemite Valley in the United States of America had also strongly appealed to him. This Valley has been reserved for all time for the public enjoyment, an example worthy of being followed by other countries possessing special gifts of Nature.

We have alluded more than once to Lord Curzon's remarkable powers of expression. He was an excellent scholar writing in a style at once graceful and chaste. He excelled as a writer of travels, and his books on that subject will always be considered as standard works. Above all he was a great Englishman, whose statesmanship was an asset to the Empire. Lord Birkenhead in an article in the *Sunday Pictorial* for March 22, 1925, paid an eloquent tribute to his memory when he wrote "that he (Lord Curzon) must undoubtedly be counted among the very great Indian Viceroys." Many of our countrymen may disagree with Lord Curzon's views, but they would subscribe to Lord Birkenhead's encomium.

HARIHAR DAS

" England, My England," by D. H. Lawrence.

As Vandyke and Reubens were to each other in Flemish art so are Galsworthy and D. H. Lawrence in modern English literature. Both depict life as they see it, and while with the one the spirit predominates, to the other the physical is the absorbing problem.

D. H. Lawrence is a specialist, and as such will limit his audience. His stories deal almost entirely with sex psychology, and his last book of short stories proves no exception to his rule. It abounds, also, in wonderful pieces of descriptive writing, but the psychological study is the *motif* running through every story.

The first story which gives its name to the book, " England, My England," reveals a man passionately attached to English soil, English history, English literature, but with a far from English temperament. Despite his absorbing interest in English folk-songs, it does not enable him to earn a living. Fortunately, his father-in-law steps in and does this for him.

But the centre of his life, is his wife—" he loved her in passion with every fibre of him," and for her part she was radiantly happy in having " all his tall supple fine fleshed youth to herself, for herself, and he had her like a ruddy fire into which he could cast himself for rejuvenation."

Then the tragedy comes. After the birth of her second son she loses all desire for him, mental or physical. One of his children has an accident through carelessness on his part, and his wife takes the child to London, whilst he stays alone in his cottage in Hampshire. " His heart goes back to the savage old spirit of the place ; the desire for old gods, old lost passions......the mystery of blood sacrifice, all the lost intense sensation of the primeval people of the place, whose passions seethed in the air."

Thus he lives with his sensuous dreams and sensations, deprived of wife and children, until the war claims him as its victim.

One of the cleverest of the stories, "A Blind Man" contains a wonderful description of the feelings of a young virile man, blinded through the war, yet not unhappy because of his passionate love of his wife who returns it equally. Into the lives of these two, comes the wife's lawyer friend, a man totally devoid of passion. The story ends with an almost terrifying description of the blind man's efforts to make a friend of the lawyer, and the latter's loathing of the blind man's caressing fingers as he tries to trace the lineaments of the lawyer friend.

The rest of the stories, "Monkey Nuts" ; "Samson and Delilah"; "The Primrose Path"; "The Horse Dealer's Daughter"; "You Touched Me"; and "The White Peacock'; all deal with different aspects of the same thing—the story of physical passion in one form or another.

Mr. Lawrence's book will appeal to three kinds of readers—those who will read it for the sake of its vivid, forcible, picturesque English, those who are students of Freud or those who like the jungle for good or bad reasons.

K. M. WALKER

Some Novel Methods of Arithmetic, by Haricharan Chaudhury, M.A., Head Master, Hashanpore S. C. Institute, Daulatabad (Murshidabad), published by S. K. Roy Chaudhury, 9 William's Lane, Calcutta, pages 35, Second Edition, price annas six only.

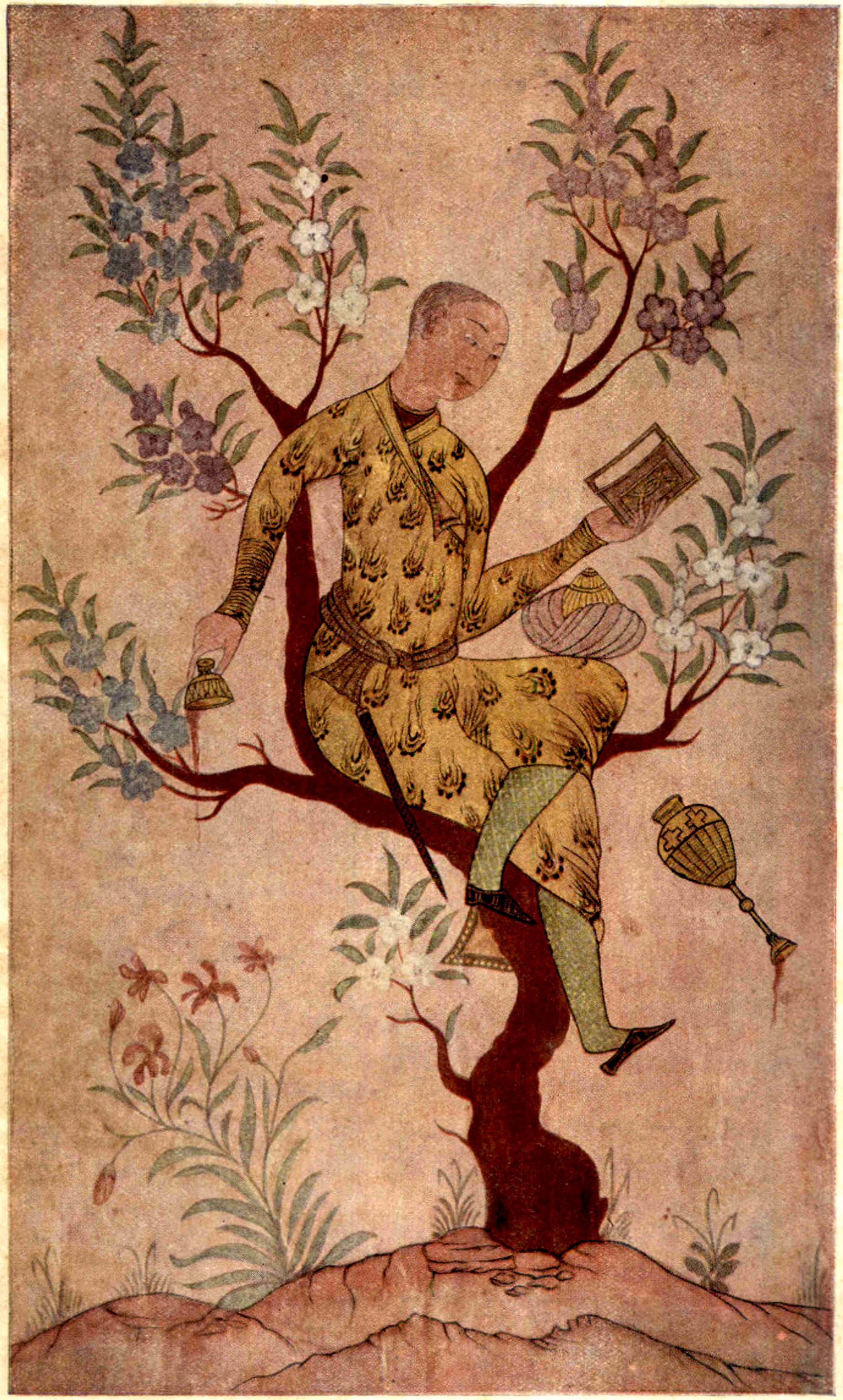
This booklet with a foreward by Dr. Bibhutibhushan Dutt of the University College of Science, Department of Mixed Mathematics, is intended for students of the High English Schools. The methods used in the book are so simple and lucid that they will be of great help to the boys going up for the examination. The chapter on multiplication in one line is very interesting. We quite agree with Dr. Dutt when he says that the students will find the methods helpful in working out exercises involving (*i*) multiplication of numbers, integral as well as decimal, and (*ii*) reduction of fractions to recurring decimals and *vice versa*. We recommend this book for use both by teachers and students. On our part we hope that more examples will be added by way of illustration in future editions.

ESKARE

History of Europe, by Edward A. Freeman, revised and brought up to date by F. J. C. Hearnshaw, M.A., LL.D., Professor of History, King's College, London, published by Macmillan and Co., Ltd., London, price one shilling and nine pence.

This is a revised edition of Freeman's well-known primer of European History, revised and brought up to date by Dr. Hearnshaw, another known text book writer on European History. The book speaks for itself and is too well-known to be revised. This much may only be mentioned that the Editor has done good work by thoroughly rehandling the last chapter and appending a new one thus bringing it down to the present day. A chronological table has been incorporated at the end of the work. This will be of great use to the youthful readers for whom it is intended.

ESKARE



OMAR KHAYAM

(A Persian miniature, probably by Sultan Mahomed, in the collection of Mr. Ajit Ghose.)

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

JUNE, 1927

KINDRED SAYINGS ON BUDDHISM

I

WILL AND THE WAY.

When man began to take pleasure in talking about himself as man, and in listening to those who made a business of talking about man to men, they, and he through them, accepted certain ways of describing himself, and these ways only. Here is an instance: "Let no man try to find out what speech is, let him know the speaker; let no man try to find out what seen-thing is, let him know the seer;...what doing is, let him know the doer;...what pleasure and pain are, let him know the experiencer;...what going is, let him know the goer; what mind is, let him know the knower, thinker."[1] We may see here that he does not speak of will, nor try to describe man either as a willer, or as anything of the kind, such as tryer, desirer, wisher, wanter, striver. In many other passages of these old scriptures is man described, but neither in them do we find man called willer, or the like, nor do we find a special, distinctive word corresponding to our 'will.'

These ancient scriptures are the oldest Indian Upanishads, or 'sittings.' They are said to date somewhen between B. C. 700 and a few centuries later, and contain many talks on man, his nature, his life and ways, and the whence and whither of him. They form but a limited basis for this talk of mine, but at any rate they are now accessible to the general reader, and enjoy quite a considerable reputation as a mine of ancient wisdom.

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[1] Kaushitaki Upanishad.

In just one or two places the reader will stumble upon the word 'will.' But the words so translated are not any of them equivalents of the English word, but are either mainly intellectual in meaning, or emotional. They are words more properly, more usually employed to mean mind, plan, purpose, desire. All of these words, it is true, involve will, but not one of them is just 'will.' Effort, seeking, trying to get, is not what they *mainly* express. But the translator had the word 'will' ready to hand, and so, when the original wording seemed to convey something more than either thinking or longing, he just wrote down 'will.' But no word for just 'will' was there. Still less was there any word for willer.

One word that comes some way toward meaning will, that is, 'willing,' is *kâma*. This means wanting, wishing, desiring. The leading Sanskrit dictionary does not include 'will' in these equivalents, or at most only in compounds, or in its adverbial form. Professor Bloomfield, however, finds in *kâma* the Indian equivalent for will. He quotes as conclusive this passage from the Upanishads :—" Man is wholly formed from desire (*kâma*) ; as is his desire, so is his insight (? *kratu*) ; as is his insight, so does he the deed (*karma*); as he does the deed, so does he experience." [1]

And were *kâma* used always in the wide, *un*moral sense in which it is used in this passage, and further, did we ever find man described as desirer (*kâmetar*), in such contexts, we might rightly grant that there was, in this old literature, a worthy equivalent for will. But more usually *kâma* means, not any kind of desire, but sex-desire and sensuous desire. And when, at the rise of Jainism and Buddhism, the moral conscience of India was feeling 'growing pains,' and becoming troubled as never before, *kâma* had become almost wholly associated with such desires and such pleasures. Very different are the words used in the scriptures of these cults for the desires stirring in man towards the Best, the Highest. These notable cults are both of them built up around the conception of man as by nature moving towards, or becoming something better or worse. They are India's very creeds of man as willer, as having will to choose the better, the worse. They place man in a long upward Way of effort, they urge him to earnest toil, to growth in worthiness, in holiness towards an ultimate goal. They wage incessant war against sloth, indifference and torpor. They created, to enforce this teaching, the word *bhâv nâ*, 'make-to-become.' And yet we must say of their scriptures that which we said of those more or less older books: we find in them no worthy word for will, no worthy conception of man as willer. For them the word *kâma* was far too tainted to name man's efforts in quest of the Better. Hardly indeed did they bring themselves to use the somewhat less tainted word *chanda*, to express purpose. They guarded it by the prefix *dhamma*, righteous. They worded it as belonging only to the pre-saintly stage. They saw in it the wrestling of the learner. The adept, the saint, for them, as for the rest of India, is he 'who knows, who sees,' not he who wills. He is one who chose the better way, who strove, who struggled forward, who won. He strives no longer. Desire, effort, endeavour have fallen off his disburdened shoulders, are put away like a discarded weapon after the fight.

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[1] The Religion of the Veda, p. 259.

Since however they worded the desire, the seeking, the quest, the struggle; since they also worded man as 'doer' and as 'goer,' is it reasonable to look for any closer parallels in their thought to will and willer? May not the absence of such be nothing more than an accident in the history of ideas and words?

Such a suggestion of the 'casual' will not commend itself to the inquirer into the 'causal.' Moreover words, names for things, mattered tremendously to the man of ancient India. We can perhaps at this time of day afford to be more careless. But he was, as speaker, like a child playing with a wonderful and strange instrument. Every word counted for much.

Let me rather get clear what I mean by will, and by man as willer. I take will in the widest meaning the word can bear. Choosing, resolving, deciding are all modes of will, but 'to be willing' underlies all these, and indeed all that we are pleased to call our mind or intellect or intelligence.[1] All mind is self-directed activity, or the emotional reverberation of that.

'*You tak' the high road an' I'll tak' the low road...*' of the Scottish ballad tells of a self-directing activity, a work of seeking something, of trying to be, or to get something, and may serve to express in homely fashion what I mean. Now man as thus active is not fitly described as doer, or as goer. A machine may be fitly thus described, but we may not fitly describe a machine as self-directing (save figuratively), or as seeking, or as trying. And more: in describing thus a man, not a machine, our subject is, in so doing, and in consequence of so doing, to some extent changing, is altering from what he was before. He is becoming different in process of, and because of his self-directing. In willing, man comes-to-be; in willing lies 'werden'—Oh! why did we let our Anglo-Saxon parallel to that fine, sorely needed word drop out of use? The 'werden,' the becoming, may affect our body, our mind, or our possessions; it surely affects ourself, the very man. And because of this sure thing, 'werden,' or becoming or coming-to-be is the closest corollary, pendant, consequence, accompaniment of will. We cannot have the one without the other.

It will be said: 'this is too broad a definition of will. Will, as we use it, is really minding and willing together, as in purpose, intention, choice. You should use 'conation,' or other more specific terms for the broader meaning you give to will; and you should leave out consequences of willing.'

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[1] More fully discussed by the writer in *The Will to Peace*, Ch. VII, and in *Will and Willer*, Ch. II.

This, I would reply, is to talk from the special and limited point of view of the School and the Manual. The same protest has there been used for the words 'thinking' and 'thought.' But I write for the general reader, not for the classroom, for 'everyman,' not for the special student. And 'everyman' does not show the slightest inclination to adopt 'conation,' or 'libîdo' (thanks be!), or any out-of-the-way words for what he feels is so big and traditional as is will, willing (let alone thought, thinking). Nor is he yet—and may he as everyman never be!—given to thinking of himself in transverse sections, so as to consider himself cut off from consequences. On the other hand, he needs to consider these a little more. He does not yet bring himself to realize all that he is, all that he has become, all that he is becoming, all that he may yet become, as willer wielding will. His are now the words:—'willer wielding will.' Let him hold tight to them; let him see himself as willer 'werdend,' becoming, growing. So let him for yet a few minutes consider literatures which lack this word-treasure; let him puzzle a moment over the problem of it.

The Indian had in his tongues the twin-root whence came will. Those twins were the Aryan WAL and WAR. The Indo-Aryans held on to *war* (*vara*). The Europeans held more to *wal*. They bore Westward *war* also, and to it we owe *werden* and ward and worth—all priceless treasures. We know how L and R get interchanged in different tongues, and in one and the same tongue. We know the 'all-light' that comes from China; we hear a Japanese say, he is a 'rucky' man. Indian books give us *raja*; yet the rock-inscriptions of Asoka prefer *laja*. And corresponding to the root of 'rupture,' we find in Sanskrit both *lup* and *rup*. But of the root-forms *war* and *wal*, the Indian decidedly preferred, in *vara*, the former. Here any way he had a wordstem which he could have used to express what we came to express with our twin WAL. From WAL we, of the Western Aryan immigrants, notably through Latins and Teutons, 'the greatest communal tryers' of all our stock, built up will-words :—*volo, velle, voluntas, wahl, wollen, wohl,* will(e), well, wealth. As compared with this strong lusty tribe, the Indian parallel *vara* shows a weak and sorry growth. *Vara* is used, not very often, for 'choice,' 'thing chosen,' 'thing to be granted.' In rhetoric it is used for 'beautiful,' 'excellent' (the 'elect,' the chosen). But *vara* never grew up as did its Western twin. *And no other word grew up in its place.*

Does the wish arise to test swiftly and easily how little the will figures in Indian thought? Then take up a very useful work to be found in any worthy library :—the last volume of the great series founded by Max Müller, the Sacred Books of the East—the Index-volume compiled by the well-known Indian scholar, Dr. Moritz Winternitz. Look under Mind and then under Will, and see how few, absolutely and relatively, are the references to will in a series consisting mainly of Indian writings. Consider how impossible this would have been, had the compiler found any insistence in the texts, in the translations on something which could literally only be rendered by Will. With this great little word so handy, English translators would have been very ready to use it, had they had any excuse. As it is, they now and then use it for the word *manas,* mind, and for *sankalpa,* plan. Hence the scarcity in references to will is not any fault of theirs. Deussen, historian, philosopher and translator, was in strong sympathy with much in Indian thought. His works contain excellent indexes of 'noteworthy ideas.' In not one of these indexes is there a single reference to the mention of will in any original! There is a little section on 'freedom of the will' (omitted from the Index), but it might as fitly have been called 'freedom without will.' Mind, and work of mind (*manaskṛta*) are called in to represent will. Neither has Mr. Das Gupta nor Mr. O. Strauss, as

Dr. Winternitz reminds me, any reference to will in the indexes to their treatises on Indian philosophy.

Now the Indian mind is very introspective, and it is very fond of definitions. The Indian—the Hindu, if you will—liked to ponder over and talk about the powers, the needs, the limitations of man. He began very early to study both mind and man. He believed in learning, in knowledge. He honored the teacher, the man who talked about man, exceedingly. He studied the way of impression and idea. He grew to be deeply concerned with the taming and training of the 'self,' with right choice at the parting of the ways, with the upward way of effort towards the Better. The more curious then is his failure to develop his own word *vara*, or to find any real equivalent to express that in man which is so vital in those matters. To discern and to word that in man, as which and by which man turns to a better, words it as such :—This is the way!—and tries to walk in it—seem to call for the words 'will' and 'willer' as indispensable.

One of India's noblest Helpers of men taught religion—that is to say, the warding of man through the worlds—as a Way of living at one's best. Yet he did not teach it as a gospel of will to willers. Will and willer he left unworded, implicit. When he began by addressing himself to a little group of willers seeking, like himself a better way, and spoke of that way as a 'Middle Course,' or Path, neither worldly nor ascetic, he did not remind his hearers of that in them which responded to the Better they were inwardly aware of. Had such as he begun that 'First Sermon' *today*, it is possible that he would put it like this :—"Man is always reaching out after a better, after something he will choose as likely to be well for him. And in seeking that, he becomes a little other, little by little, than he was. The way he chooses makes him as he will be. Wayfarer is he, seeking the goal of the utterly 'well,' the end of ill, seeking it through the worlds. Such is man's nature. He cannot do other; seek he must, though often wrongly. Go and teach that."

For it is clear, from the surviving record of that first sermon, that Gotama, called the Buddha, relied, in it, on men of good-will responding to his message by their having that in them which we call will. But he did not call upon them as willers. *He had not the word.*

I remember when over thirty years ago my husband and I were in America and were leaving Buffalo after a lecture on the gospel of Buddhism, and how our worthy host, a man of the market, in bidding us farewell, was rather amused over a gospel being chiefly concerned with an 'Eightfold Path.' It was not up to me then to speak; I was certainly not ready. But I now think that if that 'gospel' of which we have, of the original elements, only a few fragments, had been worded to our New World friend after the way of his own newer world, it might have appealed more to him. Thus :—" There is in every man, every woman a will to seek to have, or to be something that's figured as better. When it's a matter of moral betterment, or of being safe hereafter, we call that ' will ' *conscience.* You are, every one of you, aware that, at any moment, but especially when you have to choose, you can be a better man than you usually are ; you know that you can choose a better way or a worse way, or may be a best way out of several ways." Our friends would probably have said :—"Ah ! I see ; Buddhism was a gospel of following the inner monitor, conscience. Well, it's curious they didn't say so."

This is the way in which the man who does not study the growth of language would speak. As to that, Sokrates spoke of the 'monitor' as a kind of *person* ; St. Paul spoke of it as a 'law' ; but no one anywhere, I believe, spoke of it by the peculiar, and as I hold unsatisfactory word ' conscience ' *till modern times.* Conscience is a word which shares the fate of the Indian word 'manas,' mind. It has got to do duty for both self-awareness, which is conscience, and also for that self-directing, or will, which shapes our actions. Without will, self-awareness would be a purely stationary thing, of no practical use whatever. I look forward to a day, when we shall no more speak of conscience, leaving will to be vaguely understood, but when we shall speak of the willer and the will, leaving conscience to be understood as the will made articulate, the will in word, the willer self-worded. We shall range conscience under the wider genus 'will.'

To return to India: there was in that central message of Gotama a wonderful opportunity for uplifting the life of man among his fellowmen. We know how, like Christianity, Buddhism as a missionary cult spread far and wide. We know also how, like Christianity, it realized that opportunity in part, in part it did not. In part it did, in that, albeit with makeshift words, it called upon man's will to work towards righteousness and ultimate salvation. The self, it said, is changeable, ductile, docile. It did not saddle itself with any obsession about unchangeable instincts. 'Grow,' it taught, 'make the pure self, the wise mind, to become. Stir up energy; foster righteous desire. Inertness, sloth are fatal to you as Wayfarer. Man's good self is judge over his worse self.' To be at last, to become in some future state a man of perfect 'worth' (*arahan*), rather than any temporary heaven-world, was made the ultimate goal. And man was bidden to shape deed, word and thought, not according to tradition, or orthodoxy, or any teacher as such, but only according as any teaching conduced to man's 'more-welfare.'

Such a gospel might have brought out and worded the will, which it implicitly fostered so well. It might have recreated the parallels *vara* and *varetar*, for it was much given to bringing forward new words and to putting its new wine into old bottles. But it was hindered, yes, and it hindered itself.

First, it was hindered. With the whole of ancient India it inherited the old attitude, that man is by nature beholder, contemplator, namer, receiver of impressions, reacting to that which comes to him. It is man's earliest picture of himself. He sees, he knows, he feels, he names. He has not yet discerned that, to do all this, he must be a fount, a source of radiant energy, and not only so when he comes out in choice and in action. And hence he did not call himself willer as much as, and even more than, seer, knower and the rest. It was ever so much later in time when he began to put will in the forefront of his religions, if indeed he can even then be said to have done so. In this way the Buddhist, like the Jain, was hindered by the heavy hand of the past.

And both cults hindered themselves. It is true that they looked upon life, when it is truly worthy, as upward effort towards attainment. But both held, that nothing in the way of higher, and highest attainment could be won without shearing away the greater part of life, that is, of development in the world as men among men. Body, man's chief instrument, without which mind could do nothing, was for the Jain aspirant a guilty criminal, for the Buddhist aspirant it was an ass in blinkers. Mind, working by body, was called away from the home, from the production of the necessary or the beautiful, from the discovery of nature's secrets, from the world's laboratory of experiment for the common welfare in the common life. All this was called *hîna*: the low thing. Both monk and ascetic made, it is true, demands upon will. They called it by the fine word '*viriya*' ('strong-man-ity') and other words signifying endeavour. *Viriya* and *vîra* could have been used for a theory of man as willer, no less than *vara*. But the bedrock nature of man as being *viriya* :—this is *never put forward.* *Viriya* or *chanda* was necessary to win high worth, but this being won, they were to be suppressed. The saint was willless, for he had 'done what was to be done.' What yet remained for him—the utter, or 'Pari'-nirvana—so far from being conceived as a going on from strength to strength, was judged to be ineffable, or only to be worded by a negation.

In these ways then did Buddhism hinder itself from framing a doctrine of 'man' which can satisfy the new world that is ours to-day. Its first call was to man the willer, that is, the seeker after, the chooser of the Better, who inevitably becomes better in seeking the better. This, it said, would make for the happy life here and hereafter. But apparently the only way to spread a new gospel there and then was through the instrumentality of men who had 'left the world.' It was only through the artificial life-perspective of the recluse or the monk that it could reach and be honoured by the multitude. And hence it is, that in the monk-scriptures of Buddhism we find a teaching, which made appeal to the central fact in man's nature, his radiating will-to-well, but at the same time twisted and half-starved it. Men sought naturally then, as now, for fuller, happier life both here and hereafter. And life was looked upon as a ' becoming ' (*bhava*). But that will to life the monk taught them to call ' thirst,' or craving ; and, whereas the earnest man was exhorted to ' make-become ' (*bhâveti*) wisdom and worth, ' becoming ' (*bhava*) as development of life in this and other worlds, was a thing to be suppressed. Moreover, it was assumed there was no 'he' who willed to live, or suppressed that will ; there was only body and mind. And the nobler life was only to be led as monk, fed and 'run' by the people.

* * * *

All this grew up in a very old world of our Aryan fellow-men, in a little corner of our now much widened world. There was the great message calling on man's will to lessen suffering and to safeguard his future, not by sacrifice, ritual and priest, but by the worthiness of his life, by kindness, simple earnestness and candour. But the message came to a world where man's nature was not quite so well understood as we now understand it, or should understand it to-day. It was because of this, that true words for that nature had not been found. We of the new world, the bigger earth, have much, much of high worth that the old Buddhist had not, did not know, was not ready to know. Among these treasures is a better insight into will, into man as willer. And it is because of that insight that we have developed all unawares our Aryan Wal, not only into *val*, to be worth, and *Wahl*, choice, but also into the various forms of WILL, and into WELL, the thing we will to be.

Let us not speculate how Buddhism might have been helped, had it inherited these words, as we have inherited them. Our business is to exploit our heritage. We have barely begun to do that. We are at the parting of the ways. Either we shall follow most of the newer manuals, and half strangle, or shelve these strong words, or we shall see in them the very rhythm to the melody of life. Very impressive and pathetic is the earnestness of the Buddhist scriptures seeking to train the man as willer with self-directed will, when they had neither insight of him as such, nor words so to express him, and when they were hindered, so trying, by the wrong views I have mentioned. We have not their excuse, and yet almost we go on as if we were no less hindered than they. We are not barred, as they were by a constricted will and a constricted word. And we have long been free. Yet for all that, we are too much like men who have but just come out from a prison-cave. What then in this matter of word and will do we lack ?

We might put it like this :—We need more-will to more-worth, and we need to more-word our more-well.

Let this not be too hastily called obscure. We fly so lightly to many-syllabled Latinisms and to hybrids of wordiness ; why not try a little crisp English? We need here more words, almost as much as did the Buddhists. Never before has so much been written on psychology in education. It is inevitable herein that much must be said about will. It is so; and it is of interest to see in such books the groping after needed words. More interesting is it to mark in some such books, the wavering as to the nature of will, the poor insight into the child as being by nature a willer wielding will, and the often meagre way in which the 'good '—no, let me follow the other Western nations and call it the 'well'[1]—of the man, the well of the world, is put before the young as to be obtained by will, by 'more-will.' Everywhere 'will,' when it actually is used, does duty for both will and willer—a defect brought over from yesterday's psychology. Thus we read in an American book: 'will is to will will'—a silly, because unnecessary wording. Again: 'we need a training not in knowledge, but in power,'—where the right word surely was 'but in will.' Then again, as to our need of 'more strength of will,' more 'intensity of will'—why not use the simpler, safer 'more-will'? Have we not retained the less needed compound 'moreover'? We drop glibly into the foreign 'plus' in arithmetic, in technology, in golf; but what's wrong with 'more'?

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[1] *Le bien, das Wohl, il bene.*

Now it may well be, that we want to distinguish between[1] the will we need to carry on, maintain, defend such 'well' as we have, so much of good habit and worth, personal or communal, as we have acquired, and below which we do not wish to fall, and next, the will to call up, in some morning hour of life, when there is a forward move to make, a step higher, a breaking out of the groove, a crisis in will. To one 'loved' man long ago that new will was called upon in this way:—'Just one thing you lack: sell all you have......and come with me.'[1] At other times the new will needed may involve less of an earthquake. But as to all such crises, would it not be a reasonable distinction to call the self-direction of the carrying-on rear-guard just 'will,' and the pioneer self-directing in the van-guard 'more-will'? A similar distinction might be made in the Better that we will to get or become. So much as we have worthed, held in worth, expressed in words and enjoy;—that is our well—our 'good,' if it please you better. That which we have yet to come to worth, and which we have therefore not yet well-worded—that which calls upon our 'more-will'—that is our MORE-WELL.

These are simple suggestions, but they bear on great and urgent matters. We are in some danger at present of stooping too closely over our past. Our new world, our more-well, does not lie there among dead things. *Nor does it lie in just carrying on.* To each of us in whom is the forward view, there comes from time to time, in what we look upon as our welfare, a new feature of it, a new aspect of it, a new truth we had not seen before. Our 'well' takes on new worth; we want new words for it; we call upon new will to win it. In other words, we moreworth, we moreword, we morewill the morewell.

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[1] Jesus to the rich young man, whom he 'loved.'

Others will one day find better ways, it may be, to word this very real thing in life. Language is full of such increments in 'morewording.' Some of these morewords we 'worth' and 'ward' badly, have done so badly in the past:—such are will, willer, well, werden. They can help us more than we let them. India is fully capable of giving us, even in English, 'more-words' in things that she 'more-worths.' She is, before us all, the land of the Word, the Speech, the Speaker, the Mantra-worder. She has loved much the spoken word, the re-spoken word, the words of the thoughts of the men of old, the Porâṇâ. But time was when those words were new. She found new words when she was coming to 'worth' new ideals, to 'more-worth' old truths. She is now in danger of waxing very wordy in wording English speech of yesterday, English wordy ways of word-architecture, word-combats of to-day. Let her show the world that there are worthier things to value and to word than what men are mainly debating about to-day. Let her consider her worthy son who called to her with a new message, yet had not words wherewith to clothe it. Let her seek what he tried to show. Let her put forth 'more-will.' More-use in electricity is giving us 'more-words' from year to year. And when we can bring ourselves rightly to place in our teaching the willer and the will, we shall find worthy words, because we shall have seen a fresh aspect, a new glory in that 'morewell' which is an evermore coming-to-be.

C. A. F. Rhys Davids

HOLY GANGES

(The River of Life.)

March on, Holy River,
from afar, Lo,
Thy Ocean-Home is beckn'ng Thee!
In tidal music,
Holy waters, flow
Till hast thou fulfilled
Thy destiny.

Leaping o'er ledges and lime
that stand and block,
Falling in cascades
down the rock,
O'er valleys and plains
rushing afoam,
March, Divine Flow
onward to Thy Ocean Home.

Thou art the Angel
of delight,
That ever rising from sun-kissed
lips of ocean wide,
Fly—on wings of winds
coloring the sky
With thy blushes
-with thy flashes—
day and night.

From above,
thy flapping wings,
rain down life
on thirsty earth
as Thou dost look below.

Then—as if to flick the dust off
dost Thou soar and ever soar,
Till thine wings grow cold
and white as death
Dost Thou sleep on peaks
clad in snow.

But no more
canst Thou lie cold and deaf
In thine inaccessible height,
For the hour has sounded
And darkness has burst into
daylight.

—Waking Thee
Out of Thy snowy bed
Flooding Thee with
memories,
All too dear,
All too sacred.

M. DHAR

THE LOVE SONGS OF ASIA

A passion for rhythmical expression is inborn in human nature, and poetry was a vitalising force long before prose came into being. The earliest histories were recited and afterwards written in verse; the Rámáyana, Mahábhárata, and Iliad afford a clearer view of ancient civilisations than all the discoveries made in Egypt, Mesopotamia and Crete. But he who desires to reconstruct a long-buried past must not neglect the folk-songs cherished by every nation, and especially such as are inspired by the primordial instinct of sexual love. The student cannot fail to note a radical difference between the erotic poetry of Europe and the East. The first appeals to faculties which man possesses in common with sentient Nature; it is of the earth, earthy; the second often thrills with religious sentiment. "Súfism," representing the mystical side of Islam, is responsible for the curious blend of spirituality and sensualism which marks oriental love songs. There is no need to enlarge on its tenets; suffice it to say that Súfis recognise a perfect union between God and the human soul. All created things emanate from Him; all are irradiations of the Eternal Sun into whose bosom they will return when their brief terrestrial sojourn has ended. In Súfi eyes Woman is the purest manifestation of the Supreme Unity, a creature who fulfils its Maker's behest by multiplying infinitesimal portions of His essence. Bearing this doctrine in mind, the European will understand why Asiatic poets who were affiliated to the Súfi Order, and therefore convinced ascetics, should sing of feminine charms and beauty in terms which bring a blush to his cheeks. For the Christianity with which he was saturated in childhood has asceticism in common with Súfism, but differs widely from it in regarding Woman with profound suspicion. This attitude arose from the idiosyncrasy of St. Paul who—humanly speaking—may be regarded as the founder of Christianity in a truer sense than Jesus Christ Himself. By his own confession he was a man of ardent passions, but cursed with a physique which was not likely to recommend him to the fair sex. There is, indeed, a persistent tradition that his suit was rejected by the daughter of Caiaphas, High Priest of Jerusalem. Cruel was the revenge he took for the agonies of slighted love. He told the Christians of Corinth that "Man is the image and glory of God, but woman is the glory of man. Neither was man created for woman but woman for man." (1 Corinthians XI. 7). To his favourite disciple he wrote that women should "adorn themselves in modest apparel with shamefacedness and sobriety; not with broidered hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly array; but with good works. Let the woman learn in silence with all subjection. But I suffer not the woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence." (1 Timothy II 9-12). The Fathers of the Christian Church went to far greater lengths in expressing dread, and even hatred of woman. St. Chrysostom brands her as "Venomous bird-lime, spread by Satan for the entanglement of souls." St. Augustine doubts the possibility of woman's resurrection at the Day of Judgment, for "if she were allowed to enter the gates of Heaven she might lead the Elect astray in the very presence of God." While many devout Christians regard woman as a snare set by the Evil One to compass man's damnation, the Súfis venerate her as God's chosen instrument for continuing His creative work.

Translation is paid for as hackwork by the publishing confraternity; and yet it is beset with insuperable difficulties. For every race develops a collective soul, whose idiosyncrasy is reflected in its language and literature. One rarely sees two units of the same race living together in intellectual harmony; and rarer still is a complete understanding between units of different races. In fact, the only instance within my knowledge was afforded by Blanco White, a Spaniard of Irish descent, who migrated to this country at the age of thirty-five, and gained a niche in the British Temple of Fame by inditing his immortal sonnet "Night and Death." The literature of every civilised tongue teems with peculiar shades of meaning, with allusions to tradition, custom and folk-lore which are shibboleth for foreigners. Genius, indeed, can soar on the wings of imagination to worlds unknown and bring back a scintilla of their radiance for the delight of ordinary mortals. Genius enabled Thomas Moore, who had never overstepped the narrow confines of Europe, to reproduce the elusive atmosphere of old Irán in his *Lalla Rookh.* Thanks to this precious gift, Edward FitzGerald distilled the quintessence of Persian poetry in his version of Omar Kháyyám's Rubáiyats. But he who is no Lord of Words, possessing only "an infinite capacity for taking pains"—which *pace* Lord Macaulay, is no definition of genius—must not attempt the impossible. And above all things else he must avoid the shackles of rhyme in clothing exotic imaginings with an English garb. Our noble language is comparatively poor in assonants. Did not Byron help his halting Muse by consulting a Rhyming Dictionary, and was not Shelley forced to lug in a "pale portress" in order to find a jingle for "fortress"?

We are all born Aristotelians or Platonists; in other words, we instinctively regard the Universe from a purely material standpoint; or seek a solution of its enigmas by postulating a "Great First Cause." Devout Christians regard Solomon's "Song of Songs" as a spiritual allegory, and Súfis read the essence of their creed into verses wherein the materially-minded see only a poet hymning the praises of love, wine, and Nature. This predisposition is seen in the erotic poetry of ancient Persia, which, taken as a whole, does not lend itself to mystical interpretation.

Thus did Umara, who lived at Merv in the 10th century of our era, address his loved one:

"O that I could hide myself in my verses, that I might kiss thy sweet lips as often as thou recitest them!"

From Abu Sayyid, born in Khorassan 978, died at Amol in Tabaristan 1062 :

"I asked my sweetheart, 'Why dost thou make thyself so beautiful?' 'To please myself,' she replied, 'for there are moments when I am at once eyes, mirror and beauty; love, lover and loved one.'

I daily beseech the Angels of Paradise to unite me, my darling, with thee; and if my prayer be granted I will not envy an angel's lot. Were my soul called into the heavenly gardens without thine, they would be far too small to contain it."

Hedonism inspired the Muse of Omar Kháyyám, who was born in Khorassán 1025, and died there 1122. It permeates Edward FitzGerald's famous "translation," which appeals so forcibly to our disillusioned age, and is very marked in the following quatrains :

"They say that Paradise is peopled by *houris*; that wine and honey will flow in profusion there. Then why forbid me women and wine on earth if they are to be my recompense on high?

'Tis far wiser to quaff good liquor and court a pretty girl than to waste one's time in hypocritical devotions. If all lovers and wine-bibbers must descend into hell, very few sane men would wish to enter heaven.

Give me some dancers, a flagon of wine and a girl lovelier than any *houri*—if there be such things as *houris*. Let me seek in their company a murmuring stream, and stretch myself on the moss that carpets its source—if streams and mossy banks have any real existence. Let me make love, drink and sing without a thought of hell—if there be a hell. Believe me, there is no heaven but this—if indeed there be a heaven anywhere."

Hafiz was the pen-name taken by Shamsuddin Mohammed, who flourished in the 14th century of our era, and lies in a splendid tomb at Shiraz. His *Divan*, a collection of lyrics, or *Ghāzāls*, is immensely popular throughout Persia, and Fatwas, *anglice* "decisions," are arrived at by consulting it at random, just as our mediæval forbears used the Aeneid for their *Sortes Virgilianae.* The following Ghāzāls are sung at convivial gatherings:

"When I ask, 'lovest thou me?' thy angry lips purse up like a flower, and thou rebukest me. Thy words are felt like the sting of a bee; but such rebukes are my good fortune and a blessing from heaven; bitter words from thy rosy-red, honey-sweet lips seem but to set off thy loveliness.

Better than life Eternal is union with the Beloved: invite me not to enter Paradise, for the dimple on her cheek is dearer to me than the Gardens of the Blest.

Her eyebrow alone is my Mecca; what concern has this distracted heart with that place of pilgrimage? Were I left without my sweetheart, I would not care one jot for Paradise and its changeless maidens.

I said playfully to my sweetheart: 'Ah face, fair as the moon, why bestowest thou no kisses on thy broken-hearted adorer?' I have not ravished one from her lips, nor had more than a glimpse of her beauty—and she is gone. With loving words she said, 'Never will I depart from the circle of thy wishes'—and she is gone! She said again, 'He who desires the joy of my companionship must renounce himself.' I obeyed—and she is gone!

O Wind, whence wafted thou this perfume? Thou hast stolen it from my sweetheart's lips. O Rose, of what account art thou in comparison with her lovely face? Fragrant as musk is she, but thou hast thorns. Sweet Basil, what art thou compared with the down on her cheek? She is all-perfect, but thou art defiled with dust. Where art thou, O Narcissus, in the light of her laughing eyes? Hers are joyous, while thine are drunken. O Cypress, what art thou beside her slender figure? How can I cherish thee any longer in my garden?"

The eighteenth century was far advanced ere a school of Moslem poets arose in the Gangetic Valley who drew inspiration from Persian literature. Their songs bear the imprint of Súfism, which is apt to confuse the creature with its Creator. The object of their desire is set on a lofty pedestal, and worshipped with chivalrous devotion; they sigh hopelessly for love that is not returned. My first specimen is by Mir Mohammad Taki, born at Agra 1715, died about 1800:

"When I call thy long black tresses to mind, happiness fills my eyes with tears, which glitter like diamonds as they roll down my cheeks. I don't know why it is so, but in watching them fall I bethink me of a certain dark night, of rain drops pattering on our casement, and fireflies scintillating on the trees outside.

All my friends smile when they see how greatly my features are changed. Let them smile! Perchance they would envy me if they knew that it is the intensity of my love for thee which has changed my face into a bed of saffron. When thy soft arms encircle my neck, thy curling tresses are bespangled with beads of perspiration, which flash like falling stars against the mid-night sky."

From Jagni, known as Sháhgil, a pupil of Taki :

"Sháhgil can never banish thy coal-black locks from his thoughts, since for him thy face is the day, and thy hair the night."

From Mir 'Izzat Ullah, whose pen-name was *Ishq*, "Love"—

"Ah cruel one, thy coquetry fills my soul with trouble and dismay. Yet thou sittest, tranquilly combing out thy long, silky tresses. Seeing thee thus engaged I compare thee to a traveller who, as soon as he reaches the *serai*, tastes selfish repose without giving one thought to his companions who are still toiling through the desert sands. Thou art like the earth, which drinks up unconcerned the tears wrung from a woeful heart."

From Sheikh Shah Miyán Najum-ud-Din, 'Ali Khán', known in literature as *Abru* (Honour), born at Gwalior 1770, died at Lucknow 1820 :

"I don't understand thee at all, my darling; if thou wilt none of my heart, why seekest thou to captivate it ? If thou art my declared enemy, why give me long, stealthy glances which are full of promise? Can it be that thou deignest at length to be human, and to offer me thy scarlet lips? My heart is a fiery furnace, from which sighs for thee rise like flames. Why dost thou tyrannize over a humble suppliant? Fear God, my Beloved One, and cease to make Abru suffer."

"The Fifth Element" is by a poet of our own day named Mir Mohammad Rahshan Káyyil, born in Kashmir 1852 :

"After creating earth, water, fire and air, Allah resolved to create a fifth element : He fashioned Woman. More swiftly than the wind do a lover's thoughts fly towards the object of his desire, were she at the other end of the world. My Kharo's body enshrines all Earth's treasures. Her lips are flowers, her breasts are swelling fruit, her face is daylight, her locks the night. Rubies and pearls shine in her pretty mouth; diamonds glitter in her eyes. Fathomless as the ocean is the delight of her caresses. Like all who have seen Kharo, Rahshan Káyyil bears in his bosom this Fifth Element."

Nazir, a native of Akbarábád in Oudh, is the "Robbie Burns" of Northern India. His lyrical effusions, redolent of the soil, find an echo in the peasant's heart, and his erotic poetry is equally popular with town dwellers. Of such is

THE LADY OF MOONLIGHT.

"That night into the garden came she, the flower-limbed Lady of Moonlight, clad in a white robe interwoven with gold and silver thread which seemed to catch fire from the moonbeams. There stood she, in a blaze which eclipsed the moon itself. On that night by happy chance she and I were alone. It was a night of love, kisses, and wine-cups, of rippling laughter, and the old, old music of speech. Just then the cock crew, day dawned, flowers awoke, the wind blew, and she stole from my side : God knows whither she went, leaving me done, with all my desires dead within me."

I will conclude with two rhapsodies which are set in a very different key :

A KIRGHIZ HUSBAND'S WARNING.

"Woman, beware, watch the purlieus of our Kibitkal! Fo if I surprise thee whispering with a lover—were he a Chief tain, or even a Prince—I will transfix both of you with poisoned arrows. Then I will cut off thy eyelids, nose, lips, ears and breasts; then thy fingers, one by one; then thy toes one by one; then thy hands and feet, one after the other; then thy arms and legs, slice by slice. Then, in full view of thy lid-less eyes, I will bathe in thy blood and drink it, sweeter than any koumiss. And I will force all my slaves to taste it, that they may learn how I treat an unfaithful wife. Then, with my own hands will I light the pyre on which thou and thy false lover shall be consumed!''

THE ARAB GIRL'S LAMENT.

''The sun is setting, O Mohammad Ben Sulluk, and darkness descends on the desert, even as her mourning veil conceals the widow's forehead. The warrior unsaddles his horse with lissom limbs, tired servants lie stretched beside the tents, flocks return from the pasturage; a vapour rises from the desert like the canopy of smoke above an encampment. Dost hear the Muezzin's voice calling the faithful to prayer? Prostrate thyself, bathe thy exhausted limbs, and turn towards Mecca.

The shades of evening deepen and I, O my Spouse, my loved one, am watching for thy approach as the tigress watches for her absent cub. My soul is gnawed by anxiety, it is like the bones of travellers which whiten the caravan's track. My tears are falling as almond-blossom fall before the sirocco's blast. Come to me, O Mohammad, for I am filled with a longing like the hyena's which prowls round a graveyard, eager to devour the flesh of the buried dead. But thou hearest not, thou turnest thy head away like the lion which passes a sleeping man with proud disdain. For thy heart is no longer in my keeping, thine eyes are riveted on the eyes of an infidel girl, blue as the turquoises set in thy warsteed's bit, thy hands tremble with desire to stroke her tresses, yellow as ripe maize. Yes; thou lovest a Christian maiden, O Mohammad! She has weaned thee from me; she has taken my very life away. I used to dye my nails with henna, and darken my eyes with kohal to please thee. Thy new love knows them not; her skin is white as a Chieftain's burnus; and clammy like the snake that coils itself round a charmer's arm. And my breast swells as a mountain torrent in spring-time; I feel my hatred spreading as the shades at nightfall. For I hate, I hate that infidel, who is no daughter of the Prophet, and contemns the God we worship. May she suffer what I am suffering! May her husband forsake her; may her sons be pierced with arrows through their cowardly backs! I long to satisfy my love for thee and my loathing for her. She must give me back the man I love. O Mohammad, that I could drink her heart's blood on thy lips!"

FRANCIS H. SKRINE

HINDUISM AND BRAHMANISM

The term *Hindu* is of foreign origin. It represents the Persian pronunciation of *Sindhu*, the indegenous name for the river Indus. *Hindu* in Greek mouths was transformed into '*Indos*' whence *India*. It seems to have come into general use in this country under Mahomedan supremacy, as the designation of all non-Moslem inhabitants of the geographical tract then called Hindostan. The connotation of the term extended with the extension of Moslem political supremacy. In the present day all inhabitants of the triangular tract of land, stretching out from the Himalayas to the seas, are called Hindus who do not profess the religion of Christ or of Muhummad, the rest being considered negligible. The distinction implies a negative attribute. In the search for a religious vinculum among the human groups called Hindus, the inquirer finds himself in a labyrinthine religious museum, containing all types of religion, from the grossest fetishism to the most enlightened spirituality. If Hinduism is taken to be the religion of the non-Moslem and non-Christian inhabitants of that portion of the world which is named India it will be found to be an undefinable agglomerate. The class attribute of Islam in India is capable of determination, notwithstanding the cleavage between the Shias and Sunnis. They all accept Muhummad as the messenger and the Koran as the word of God. Their external practice has much that is common to both sects. Their educated common tongue all over India is Urdu. It is conceivable that if there is a rebellion in the name of Islam it will be far more extensive and intense in India than in the name of Hinduism. The influence of this thought on state policy is outside the scope of our present purpose. All that is necessary to consider is the confusion of thought created by the application of the term Hindu to certain human groups, inhabitating India and only negatively describable as non-Moslem and so forth or to any form of religion. Centuries of misapplication of this term has created an intellectual anarchy, indistinguishable from the abnegation of reason. The worst punishment of a liar is a belief in his own lie by its constant repetition.

An unprejudiced and impartial search for the greatest common measure of unity in Hinduism or the religions of men called Hindus is not barren of result. The greatest number of Hindus, of intellectual, social and political importance but not all with English education, profess to accept certain scriptures as of the highest spiritual value. These scriptures are in Sanskrit and they are accepted as current from immemorial antiquity. This description relates to faith in things unseen, super-temporal and super-rational. The same goal may be reached by another road—the road of practice. Hinduism is said to be the religion of veneration for the Brahman and the Cow. This may be taken in the present day as a description of the major and more socially important portion of those called Hindus but obviously not a definition of Hinduism. For there are men, described as Hindus who eat the flesh of cows, dying a natural death and others to whom the ministry of Brahmans is not acceptable. The *Chāmār* caste and the casteless Bengali Vaishnavas may be cited as examples. In order to distinguish Brahman-headed Hindus from the rest the religion of Brahmans may be called Brahmanism or Brahmanya. Brahmans, notwithstanding many internecine differences, accept the scriptures referred to as the ultimate source and authority in religion, all sectarian scriptures being taken as re-statements and amplifications of the truth declared by the ancient original scriptures. Caste can scarcely be taken as a differantia of Brahmanism. From pre-historic times men believed to have risen above castes by purity of faith are regarded with veneration. This feature of Brahmanism still survives in the holiness believed to reside in Paramhansas. Most Sākta Brahmans, of high position in caste and society, disregard caste, in congregational worship, known as *Chakras* or religious circles.

The scriptures accepted as the ultimate source of Brahmanism are traditionally known as the *prasthānatrayam* or the three-fold path and consist of the ten Mahā or great Upanishads, the "Bhagavad-Gītā" and the "Brahma Sūtras" of Vyāsa. In search of reason for faith three principal philosophical systems are known in Brahmanism and are accepted as systematised by Śankara, Rāmānuja, and Madhvācharya respectively. Notwithstanding their differences the statement may be ventured that they all accept the traditional teaching of the Brahmanical religion as to the goal of religious culture, which reached, the devotee becomes "*Brahmaniṣtha, sarvabhirta-hite ratah̤*, (with steadfast faith in God and devoted to the well-being of all creatures). Although the religious practice of Brahmandom is Tantric in the main and not Vedic, the above-quoted formula of spiritual perfection is accepted by all. Assuming that the Tantrics are of Buddhistic and not Brahmanic origin, it may safely be asserted that the rule of faith and conduct declared in the "Three-fold path" is accepted by the principal scriptures of that school. In the result it may be taken that the "three-fold-path" is the repository of the Brahmanic faith. The application of the foregoing general statements to existing conditions must be reserved for future consideration. It is only necessary here to add that the applicability of the Hindu Law does not carry us very far owing to its variation by local, tribal and family customs but, as is well-known, all ancient law-books (*smritis*) claim to be founded on the authority of the Vedas, of which the scriptures of the "three-fold path" are regarded as the essence.

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJI

THE SONG OF THE GALE

I roused the slumbering night
And roared into her ear,
She blinked her million eyes
And loudly groaned in fear.

I rode upon the clouds
And crumpled up the sky,
And swept the cobwebs forth
That time had piled up high.

My trumpet of the dark,
It roused the spirit of song,
And stirred the sluggish blood
To proudly dance along.

I banished dreams and stars,
I banished doubts and fears,
And out beyond my realm
All woman's wails and tears.

There's straining of the heart,
There's tightening of life-strings,
There's joy in work and faith—
My trumpet sweetly sings.

Then up beyond the stars
And scorn their plaudits small,
And let the idle sun
From day to day slow crawl.

My spirit of the dark,
My trumpet of the night
Go set the world top down
And choke up the fountain of light.

NALINI MOHAN CHATTERJEE

JAPANESE LITERATURE IN THE ERA OF THE JAPANESE PRINT

On a morning in the year 1600, two armies gathered at Sekigahara, not far from Kyoto. One force was nearly twice the size of the other, but the General in command of the lesser was a man of genius, Tokugawa Iyeyasu. So it came about, that the battling was maintained all day; and with the coming of twilight, the clarions of the smaller army sang triumph. Some of Iyeyasu's followers, hastening to congratulate him, spoke of the vast wealth which would now be his, since surely all Nippon lay in his hand, as it were. He replied that he cared neither for riches, nor personal glory; he declared that his sole dream, was the welfare of the Japanese people. To his staff-officers he gave memorable counsel: "After a victory, tighten the strings of your helmet." And the night came down.

The literature of Japan, in the 17th and 18th centuries, with the first half of the 19th, is so extensive and diverse that it will not be possible, within the scope of a single article, to offer more than an outline history of the topic. Long quotations must be vetoed, nor may there be given, more than a very few individual book-titles. It is a little easier, however, to deal with an Eastern subject in this broad manner, than with a Western. For in mental spheres of activity, the Oriental folk have rather tended, to echoing each other. And, just as it is consequently feasible, to treat of Japanese painters under certain headings, which have grown familiar in America and Europe, so is like treatment admissible, with regard to Japanese writers. But before marshalling the various groups or schools, it is essential to make clear the significance of Iyeyasu's victory at Sekigahara.

In Japan the eleven-hundreds saw long baronial wars, the masses suffering hardship accordingly. And, in 1192, there was founded the Shogunate, or military dictatorship. It assumed the supreme legislative authority, the crown devolving into a mere shadow, although the Mikados were still regarded as divine. But as centuries sped on, the Shogunate proved utterly incapable, of checking the bellicose ways of the feudal lords, and the condition of the populace went from bad to worse. Through his triumph in 1600, Iyeyasu became Shogun in 1603. The office was made hereditary with his family, the Tokugawa, and they remained in power till the Revolution of 1867-68. By brilliant legislation, the victor of Sekigahara wholly changed the Land of Sunrise. He established a firm, central government; he broke the power of the barons; he swept away the age-long curse of civil-war, and thus he brought at last, comfort for the masses, along with a considerable measure of education for them. It will be evident, that these altered circumstances were eminently conducive, to the fashioning of what Japan had not created before the 17th century, popular literature. Profoundly relieved that the shadow of the sword no longer hung over them, the toiling myriads asked for diversion, a prime result being an enormous output of plays and novels. And since Yedo, now-a-days called Tokio, was in Tokugawa times the seat of Shogunal legislation, naturally that town was likewise then the centre, of writing, printing and publishing.

The characteristic plays are definable as song-dramas. They include very little dialogue, and while there are passages in prose, there predominate passages in a metrical form. This consists simply, in lines of seven syllables, alternating with lines of five, rhyme being unknown in Japanese literature. It was but normal, that a metrical vehicle should be copiously used, for the plays were chanted by a chorus. And the task of the players, or of the marionettes, was to create as it were a series of pictures, illustrations to the chant. It must be well borne in mind that, in Japan of Tokugawa days, women had little freedom. There was virtually no love-making as the Occident counts such, and marriages were merely arranged. In consequence, the life of the passing hour proved anything but inspiring, to the authors of song-drama. Where did they find their subjects?

The outstanding dramatist was Chikamatsu Monzayemon (1653-1724). He was a most vigorous writer, with a talent for vivid description, precisely the talent wanted in song-drama. Composing upwards of ninety pieces, he found his matter chiefly in history, Indian and Chinese, besides Japanese. His great success was *Kokusenya Kassen*, or the *Battles of Kokusenya*. This play abounds in gory horrors, together with the ridiculously fantastic, for instance, a scene where a tiger obligingly allows an amulet to be tied round its neck. If the other authors of song-drama had not so high a literary skill as Monzayemon, they were nevertheless thoroughly akin with him. Finding their topics largely in the romance of the civil-wars and vendettas of Japan in the middle-ages, they spangled their works with the blood-curdling. Suicide by disembowelment was endlessly figured, the supernatural being dealt in too, as in a play where a goblin appears. Near the close of the 18th century, there came a bias for increasing the amount of dialogue; and ere long, some dramas wholly in that mode were written. But this change in technique was not accompanied by a change in the style of dramatic literature. Blood and thunder were still wanted, and still purveyed. If the tone of the legion of stage-plays, emanating from the Tokugawa period, has a redeeming trait, it lies in the frequent eulogising in those works, of sacrificial loyalty on the part of the man-at-arms towards his lord. For if this loyalty was illogical, it was deeply beautiful, an action well worthy of being praised.

Of two classes are the novels: things which set forth the life of the Tokugawa day itself, and things which are historical. In the latter sphere, the man of highest fame was Kyokutei Bakin (1767-1848). He wrote about 200 tales; his work reveals a mind of most phenomenal alertness, ceaselessly absorbent; and incidents crowd his vigorous pages, almost as stars the sky. Perhaps his finest book is *Kumano Tayema Ama* *yo no Tsuki,* or *Moonlight shining through the clouds on a Night of Rain.* In this story of Japan in the 14th century, there is a woman who, being a most devout Buddhist, and therefore believing in the transmigration of the soul, is terribly distressed about her husband being engaged in the taking of life, for he is a hunter by profession. On her death-bed, she implores him to make of their child a Buddhist priest, and the son duly enters the sacred calling. Later, becoming enamoured of a young woman-musician, in service at a restaurant, he passionately regrets his vows of celibacy. And in the course of the story, there is a description of a little girl who, greatly unhappy, consoles herself with the hope of some day winning to what she calls the "lotus terrace." That is, the Paradise of Buddhism.

It was in the history of Japan herself, that Bakin found the material, for most of his other romances. And, with his fellow-writers of historical novels, the past of their own country was the principal mine for topics. His talent notwithstanding, Bakin closely resembled the coeval dramatists, in a fondness for treating of the fantastic, and the supernatural, together with sanguinary horrors. And herein he was only too symbolic of the other authors of historical tales. For the predilection for the magical, and the gruesome, was the dominant characteristic with these men. While their books enclose the hairbreadth escapes, and terrific combats, which are naturally expected in the sphere of literature at issue, these books also embody witches, torture, suicide by disembowelment; and revenge was an eternally favourite theme.

The absence of courting, the plan of merely arranging marriages, could scarcely fail to make novelists incline to lay their scenes amid the thrilling adventures of the middle-ages, instead of delineating their own era. With those men, who did indeed depict the Tokugawa time, the absence aforesaid could not but have effect likewise. Faced as they were, with nothing but the apparently unromantic, in respectable life, they very largely tended to represent the disreputable, figuring events in the prostitution quarters. Indecency was the rule, not the exception, in the pages of these men; and repeatedly the Shogunal government endeavoured to stem the torrent of obscene books. Shikitei Samba (1757-1822), and Ryutei Tanēhiko (1783-1842), were both assailed in this relation, but either man was a writer with true gifts. To this present day, Japanese perform their diurnal ablutions at public washing-places, instead of at home. And it is the chatter, at one of these washing-places, which is recorded in what is probably Samba's best book. This is *Ukiyo-furo,* or the *World's Bath-House.* And a lively volume it is, as in pages where women talk noisily in attack on the ways of their domestic servants! Samba realised, that what is seemingly quite common place may become bright, if written about brightly.

An arresting book by Tanēhiko is *Ukiyogata Rokumai Byōbu,* or *Episodes of the Passing Hour, displayed on six Screens.* Largely emblematic of the particular class of Japanese novels under review, it nevertheless discloses here and there a slight tenderness of accent, which it would be hard to find, in the other things of that class. This accent transpires, for instance, in the account of the doings of a young woman, Misawo. She belongs by birth to the military aristocracy, but she is in poverty. And so that she may support her sister, and the latter's little girl, Misawo works in a restaurant. Consequently, she is much the object of amorous attentions. A rich man tries to buy her ; she provisionally consents to go with him ; and her old grand-mother, who is blind, is under the misapprehension, that Misawo is leaving, merely to be a servant in a wealthy house. Opining as she therefore does, that the young woman is finely clad, and eager to feel her grand-daughter's new dress, the blind old person stretches out her hands. Misawo, desirous that the misapprehension should remain, seizes at once from the small Buddhist altar in the room, a bit of tapestry, which she hastily wraps round herself. Just as the deluded old mother is fingering with delight this counterfeit dress, there enters Misawo's little nece, Koyosi, who comes perilously near taking away the delusion. For she exclaims to her aunt : " Oh, what a joke of an apron you are wearing."

Waiving the writers of song-drama, there were not in the Tokugawa time, authors definable as professional poets. But the writing of occasional verses, a practice which has been greatly the vogue with the upper classes, in eras before Sekigahara, became after that battle common with literally all sections of the community. The formula chiefly used was one, with only three lines being called the *haikai hoku* ; and it is in anthologies, that the verses of the epoch may be read. Beyond doubt, the Japanese, as a nation, have a singularly keen appreciation of the beauties of nature ; these were a prominent theme, in the literature of Nippon, as far back as the ninth century. And the typical *haikai* of Tokugawa years are songs, in which some bit of natural beauty is the subject. Here it is a bird on the wing, or a graceful creeping plant; there again, it is a bright-hued spray of flowers, or moonlight, or snow. And frequently the thing is depicted with remarkable vividness, true pictorial quality.

An ancient writer of *haikai* was Mrs. Kaga no Chiyo (1703-1775). And, in a famous poem, she regrets that she cannot bring herself to tear away the convolvulus, which having twined itself round the rope at the well, has inhibited the drawing of water. How finely suggestive too, is one of these miniature songs by Miss Shushiki (1683-1728), in which she simply says, that the iris retains its colour, whereas the dreams of the poetess are dead. Still another lady, who is represented in the anthologies, is called there Sono or Garden, which may be assumed to have been her baptismal name. There is charming *hoku* by her, in which he tells only, that the heat is doubly trying, because the baby on her back keeps tugging at her hair. Being marvels of terseness, hints rather than statements, the diminutive pieces under notice are perforce very hard to translate adequately. The most famous of singers, in the three-line medium, was a Buddhist priest, Matsura Basho (1644-1694). And here is a gem by him, the original being exquisitely musical, one of the fairest of all lyrics :

" A cloud of blossoms in the air,
Notes of a bell, from where, Ah where,
Uyeno or Asakusa ? "

Alas, the beauty of sound in the place-names, Uyeno and Asakusa, can hardly be conveyed in the Roman script. At either of those places, there is a temple. And is it not easy to conceive Basho, wandering of an evening, pausing to scan with delight the flowers, then hearing distant sacerdotal chimes, and wandering from which of the two fanes they emanated ? With what fine skill he recorded the moment of enchantment.

The scholarly writing, produced in the Tokugawa period, was of titanic quantity. There were encyclopædias ; there were histories ; and there were studies of folk-lore. Commencing to write on the ancient Japanese paintings, literati also began to descant on the weapons of the past. Nor was it strange that this subject should attract learned men of taste, considering the extraordinarily beautiful art which, through centuries, was lavished in Nippon on arms and armour. Of the distinguished writers on the paintings was Arai Hakuseki (1656-1725), from whom too there came a book on old martial accoutrements. Another eminent author on this topic was Inaba Michitatsu, who lived soon after Hakuseki, the book by Inaba being *Soken Kishō*, or *Treatise on Sword-Furniture*. And a slightly later author, who also won note by a volume on soldier's year, was Sakakibara Kozan. Hakuseki's scholarship was minute and profound, but he has the typical defect of his qualities. For by exhausting his subject, he inclines to exhaust his rearders. Kozan is entertaining, by reason of his cynicism. The sculptured cuirass, he says disdainfully, was never used by true fighters, it was worn just by dandies. And he expresses scorn for Hakuseki's pages, as being those of a mere scholar, not of a man with practical experience of soldier's appertainances. It is a fine sharpness of mind, which underlies Inaba's critical comments on art in general. He fascinates by the boyish enthusiasm, with which he extols the high beauty, achieved by the old masters in sword-embellishment. He delights by his devotion to, and talent for flowery language. In the work of one of the great artists, he discovers "tender suggestiveness" ; in that of another man, "force that would rend a rock.". The chisellings of a certain artificer were to Jnaba, reminiscent of "white sails, scattered over the broad bosom of the sea." Those of another he found comparable, "to the weeping-willow swaying gently in the breeze, or the lovely lotus...... dappled with pearls of dew."

An important part of Iyeyasu's measures to pacify Japan, lay in his seeking zealousy to foster printing, as too in his ardent endeavour, to increase the number of scholastic institutions. One of the things, which were printed at his personal behest, was an edition of the Confucian classics, the first edition of such produced in Nippon. And among the great Shogun's actions on behalf of education, was his founding of what came to be known as the Seidō, or Hall of the Sages. This was a place in Yedo, where lectures on the teachings of Confucius were given. And out of these events, there came a group of scholarly writers, whose prime though not exclusive concern was the eulogistic exposition of the Chinese philosopher. They were known as the *Kangakushá*; prominent in this band was Hayashi Rasan (1583-1657); his writings include *Hi Yasukyō* or *Down with Christianity*. This is probably, if not quite certainly, the earliest Far Eastern book on the Western faith, Rasan's attitude to which is amply shown by his title. A notable of the *Kangakusha* was Kaibara Yekken (1630-1714), who is the more interesting because he ultimately wrote a book, in which he told of the doubts which had come to him, with regard to those Confucian tenets he had previously upheld.

Another salient person, of the scholarly group in question, was Muro Kyuso (1658-1734), whose chief work is *Shundai Zatsuwa* or the *Miscellany of Shundai*, the latter being the place where he lived. Into his Confucian disquisitions he blends, true Japanese that he was, talk about the beauties of nature. Into those disquisitions moreover, he mingles homage to Iyeyasu. And in fact it is *Shundai Zatsuwa*, which tells how the great statesman said, at Sekigahara, that his care was for the Japanese people, not for personal glory.

There is only one more group to be spoken of, the *Wagakusha*. These were scholarly writers who, disapproving of so much attention being given to a foreign thing like Confucianism, were preoccupied with exegesis of the ancient literature of Japan. The herald of the group was a Buddhist priest, Keichiu (1640-1701), who wrote a study of the *Manyoshiu*, or *Garner of a myriad leaves* a poetical anthology of the eighth century. That same era had seen the compiling of the *Kojiki*, or *Records of Ancient matters*; this is the Bible of Shintō, the religion of Japan ere she knew Buddhism and Confucianism. It is the *Kojiki* which tells that the Mikados are divine, and this Bible was much written about by the *Wagakusha*. A commentary on it, the *Kojiki-den*, was one of the chief books by the outstanding man of the group, Motoöri Norinaga (1730-1801). Another thing by him is a miscellany, in which he showed that his dislike of Confucianism was almost as sharp as Rasan's of Christianity. And, in this miscellany, Motoöri speaks briefly of the colour-prints of his time, in which pictures he saw "artistic degradation."

Proverbially, the pen is mightier than the sword. And when, in the mid-19th century, the Tokugawa régime began to show signs of tottering, the might of the pen of the *Wagakusha* transpired. Under the lead of Motoöri, they had given a new force, a fresh familiarity, to the slumbering contention in the *Kojiki*, that the Mikados were rulers by divine right. And this revival of the Shintō tenet had much to do with the

Revolution of 1867-68. It was claimed by the insurgents, that the Shoguns were usurpers, holding as they did that supreme authority, which ought to be with the sacred Emperors. And thus it came about that, on the forcible abolition of the Shogunate, the crown was restored to its position as head of the government. With this rebirth of the old, there came an inrush of the new. For it was now that free ingress to Occidentals was granted by Nippon, it was now that certain of her sons espoused the dream of westernising themselves, together with the aspiration to see their country a power, in international politics. And these events could not fail to bring vast changes in the literary activities of the Sunrise Land. Old Japan was dead.

The fundamental things in life are the same from generation unto generation. And, in great literature, invariably the basic and changeless elements are those, principally uttered. It is far easier to find such utterance in the writings of Japan, in the eras before Sekigahara, than in the writings of the age following that memorable fray. It is this lack of human interest, this comparative absence of setting forth the eternal and universal emotions, which are the main weakness in Japanese literature of the Tokugawa period. If in the foregoing recital, prominence was bestowed on Bakin and Tanëhiko, this was because, while either author was greatly symbolic of his epoch, both struck something of a human note, as has been seen. It is very difficult to conceive Matsura Bashō being forgotten, and the best of the *haikai*, by other writers than he, will also surely have a long favour yet. But the literature of the woodcut age does not hold, in the sphere of literary art as a whole, nearly so high a place as is held in the sphere of pictorial art, by the work of that wonderful constellation of print-designers, whom the Occident adores.

W. G. BLAIKIE MURDOCH

THE MODERN STATE

(*A Study in Political Theory.*)

Organic development means increasing inter-relation among the constituent members of an organism, and increasing specialisation on the part of each member. This specialisation is carried on and achieved to secure greater and more harmonious co-ordination in the activities of the various constituent members of the organism. Making due allowances for the error of carrying this biological concept of organic growth into the field of the social science we find, amidst the multiplication of social relationships that marks the advance of civilisation, that social development proceeds along lines that are organic in a peculiar sense, in the same sense in which it is subject to the principles of evolution that regulate the growth and development of individual organisms. That sense is the psychic sense. It is for this reason that Prof. Giddings calls the social organism an organisation, a product not only of unconscious evolution but also of conscious planning, and that Spencer talks of the social development as a super-organic evolution because of the development of the phenomena of the social mind. The mediation of the social mind transformed the military organisation of the earliest form of civil society and liberalised the creative spirit of nation-making, which leads to a differentiation of functions and groups based upon such differentiation. The intensely industrial stage on which civil society has now entered, resulting in increasing specialisation of group life replacing status by contract, is the logical outcome of the same liberal-legal process which transformed the earliest form of civil society presided over by the Magician king. The industrial society has witnessed an amazing growth of associational life and a relentless carrying to conclusion of the principle of differentiation, Each group or association considers itself to be autonomous for the purposes for which it exists, controlling the allegiance of its members within the sphere of its own activities as perfectly as the military dictator of the early forms of civil society, or his liberal-legal prototype, the Austinian sovereign. On the other hand, there is a gradual delimitation of the sphere of the pre-existing unitary 'political' or military society in favour of these voluntary associations. A slow revolution is being effected in the political organisation of society; does not this revolution, so comprehensive in its character, justify us to recast our theory of sovereignty in favour of one which would be more in consonance with facts?

It is needless to enter now into the chequered history of the political theory of sovereignty. I say political, advisedly, because all these theories have evolved on the hypothesis of the existence of the political sense among the large mass of mankind. By political sense, I mean the sense of larger citizenship, the sense with which the comparatively parochial interests of the club or the community are subordinated to the higher demands of a superior organisation, if and when necessary. This political sense assumes that individuals organised within the limits of this superior group, can think and act in terms of this group, and render to it an allegiance which is absolute so far as it goes, and can be enforced, in the case of any isolated revolt, by means of physical force, which the individuals have agreed to place at its disposal, to bring to book the recalcitrant members. This assumption, it is needless to point out, conceals various other assumptions which in themselves require justification. The first is that there is, in fact, a superior group so organised; secondly, that individuals do, as a matter of fact, think and act in terms of this group; and thirdly, that blood and iron is the visible sanction behind the authority of this group supported ultimately by the tacit agreement among the individual members comprising this group as to the necessity of this visible coercive power. If, on the other hand, the facts of our political life show that this superior group is a mythical entity to which allegiance is rendered as a matter of convention, liable to be withdrawn at the very moment when the supposed interests of this superior group will happen to clash with the more real interests of the group or the community to which the individual may happen to belong directly—that the vast majority of the people think and act in terms of the self and all that this entity signifies, and that the physical and coercive power of the superior group is, on the one hand, beginning to lose its efficiency as an obedience-compelling power and on the other hand, is being rejected as the sole, or even the most important basis of criminal reform by eminent statesmen and criminologists, as in fact it is,—might we not have the right to ask for a radical change in the traditional conception of the political State in favour of one which, while not ignoring the possibility of a higher life transcending the race, the region and the group, will take account of the increasing importance of the group or the regional life in shaping the economic and political activities of the people and in controlling them ?

The conception of the political State is a survival in idea, from the sociological point of view, of the condition of things which obtained in the first stages of civilisation when the community was based on a military organisation, pure and simple. It might be that in the Greek πολις, the perfect political society existed, but then the world seems to have bid good bye to these city-states after the era of industrial revolution was reached, or even before that, partly because the area over which the State exercises its authority has much widened, and partly because the principle of citizenship has been much extended,—and,—the most important of the reasons,—because man's interest in life has become more varied and complex. The political State, therefore, does not exist to-day. Politics now is the exclusive concern of people who happened to have leisure and of journalists,—and the legislature, the mouth-piece of democracy, has now become an exclusive club, owing to the prohibitive election expenses and the control of the party caucus. Apart from the composition of the legislatures, the work which they do in each department of public life is dictated by that group or section of the people whose concern it is. The rest of the people scarcely or seldom think about it. In legislating, therefore, the legislature, the chief organ of the State, gives expression to a group-mind, provided of course it is sufficiently powerful, and at the same time keeps up the myth of a unitary political organisation.

Law itself is a social product. In primitive community, law took the form of custom or tradition,—the direct naive expression of popular life. It is a mistaken belief of jurists that the essential nature of law is that it is a *command* addressed by a superior upon an inferior and enforced by him through the medium of punishment.[1] In the first place, law so conceived is merely the crystallisation of what we usually call public opinion but which is no more or no less than the opinion of a particular group or section of the people,—as a rule, that section whom the question concerns most,—and is a confirmation by the " accredited " representatives of the group or section, to which others assent, of an otherwise nebulous social attitude. Secondly, the " command " has frequently to be revoked or " amended " according as this social attitude undergoes any change. We do not for the present consider those topics which are supposed to be the business of everybody as much as of anybody else, for example, the duty of preserving order. It would not be difficult, however, to show that these topics are only those tasks, in a re-oriented form, to address itself to which the earliest civil society was established. It does not make any difference in political theory, but is only a problem in expediency. Accepting, then, the sense in which we have understood law, *viz.*, as the reflection of a definite social attitude, we find that in paying allegiance to a law thus promulgated, an individual only accepts it as the will and verdict of the group to which he belongs and recognises that will and verdict to be his own. The law is not, and can never be, so long as modern conditions of life prevail, the *command* of a *central* sovereign political authority.

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[1] See Hobhouse ; *Social Evolution and Political Theory*, p. 137.

There are two principles on which the State is based,—the principle of citizenship and the principle of authority. In modern States, the principle of citizenship seems to have interpenetrated our civic ideals and seems to be the guiding factor in drawing up codes of "public" life. Supporters of the theory that the modern State is more intensely political than the city-states of Greece will point with great pride and satisfaction to the very large number of people who now enjoy political and civil rights as compared to those in ancient Hellas, to the number of resolutions moved and adopted by the political assemblies of to-day, to the tremendous interest created by the press, the pulpit and the platform in all the larger public affairs of a country and to the fact that there is an increasing reaction in favour of a paternal government as evidenced by the larger schemes of social reform, some of them essentially of socialistic nature, as undertaken by the modern governments; and rightly conclude, if these premises are accepted at their face value, that the contention that the centralised political State has ceased to exist has no foundation in fact. But an acute analysis of the modern organisation of political life will show that underlying all these arguments, there is the misleading connotation of the two terms, public and political. What we often call as public is nothing but a group, a class, a sect, a profession, or a temporary combination of these, and whatever combination there might be, the real unit in deciding the point at issue are these individual groups, classes, sects and professions. Likewise, what is called *political* has always reference to a State, conceived of as a super-association representing the general will of its constituent members. But, the question is, is there a *general* will ? and does this super-association express the general will, if any ? As Professor Hobhouse says, "The general will is an entity not always to be discovered, and the use of this term leads to the most inhuman torture of evidence (—a fling, may we say, to the brilliant author of inverted Hobbism?) to prove that there is a generality of will where there is none." The mere fact that a super-association exists and legislates (implying as it does a confusion of the conception of the abstract entity called the State and the material agencies of its activity) does not prove that there is a political life clear and distinct from the activities appertaining to the group or the class as such and to which all such activities are to be ruthlessly subordinated from purely extra-personal motives. The new psychology of human behaviourism denies this. Secondly, the. mere existence of a thing is not its justification. The conditions which gave birth to the monistic State which passed unscathed through a long period beginning with the Magician-king and the Patriarch down to that of king-ship by divine right (which died a very reluctant death only the other day), have been vastly changed by the remarkably rapid growth of associational life and by the industrialisation of society. An organisation like the T. U. C. of England can upset the whole 'political' machinery of a State based on a single-sovereign principle. The Indian National Congress commands a position which cannot be ignored with impunity, provided it stands united, by the arbiters of India's political destiny. The Chambers of Commerce have often dictated policy to the authorities at Simla and Whitehall. Even in the highest developments of the social mind it cannot boast of an all-pervasive unity but is a case of unity within unity and of organism acting upon organism. There are some cases on the other hand, where real balancing of interests is impossible and where any compulsory balancing may lead to social upheavals or revolutions such as has overtaken Russia. The extension of the principle of citizenship, far from being an evidence of the centralised political organisation of the modern State has resulted in an invasion of the State by efficiently organised groups parading under the name of *parties* and a merciless assault on the principle of centralization. The principle of citizenship has found a new expression in the organisation of the party; here too, the group-element has been the predominant factor. Further, in extension of the same principle we find that political fight has now been shifted from individuals on to the constituencies, and each member comes to the political assembly more or less mandated, more or less burdened with "programmes" saddled upon them by their group, their constituency or their party as the case may be. As the franchise is extended, the citizens are less and less directly associated with the work of the State. Besides, as there is no direct participation in the exercise of political rights and in the discharge of political obligations (save, perhaps, at the time of the General Election) minority interests go by default because, might be, of the apathy of the majority party for its irresponsible Opposition.

We now come to the next principle, the principle of authority. The monistic State has, for its basis, an authority which can be traced to a single source. Anyone who is roughly familiar with the history of kingship and sovereignty, knows that beginning with the patriarchal and tribal chief down to that type of kings which passed away with the extinction of the German monarchy, the seat of sovereignty could be traced to a single source whether it be personal prowess, custom, or a divine authority. It is said that the legislature is the sovereign in the modern State, where, it is said, the principle of authority is replaced by the principle of citizenship. But as we have seen, citizens themselves have been differentiated into groups, and the legislature though *de jure* sovereign is not so *de facto*. The *de facto* sovereign naturally tends to be sovereign *de jure*, and this process of conversion is seen in modern times in the increasing irreverence shown to law, passed by the *de jure* sovereign when it happens to clash with the interest of the *de facto* sovereign, *viz.*, the voluntary groups or associations. The penalty attaching to law, especially 'political' law, seems to have less terror for the people to-day. In other words, while the penalty exists, the social dis-approbation which sanctioned it, and of which it was the symbol, has disappeared. The attitude of the social class or group to which the individual belongs is the ultimate standard of human behaviour and a State which fails adequately to represent this attitude cannot be a sovereign organisation in that its will as expressed through its law will not be ultimately effective; such a State stands self-condemned. To provide that the real will of each important group might be realised, it is necessary to invest these groups with as much autonomy as is compatible with the like autonomy of other similar groups, there being a central co-ordinating machinery to decide on questions of conflict on the one hand and on matters which unquestionably affect the interests of each and every group on the other. On the former set of questions, the decisions of this co-ordinating machinery should be merely recommendatory, which, therefore, shall not be sovereign in respect of these questions, as all decisions in order to be effective must needs be unanimous. On the second set of topics, the sovereignty of the central machinery would obviously be a really derived one. But these are questions of practical politics and may be left out of consideration for the present.

We thus arrive at the central thesis: that the modern State is essentially pluralistic in nature, and to avoid unnecessary political complications, every opportunity should be taken for the gradual devolution of the functions of a centralised State in favour of decentralised groups and associations. We have attempted to show, thus, that a centralised monistic State, though it has performed important functions in the infancy of civilisation, exists now only in name. It is a "theory" which has a past but no future. At the time when there was an increasing integration of social groups and aggregates, of hordes, clans and tribes, of undeveloped nationalities, of heterogeneous racial and national elements in order to form compact nations,—the monistic State was a natural and useful outcome. But the organism, when once its main structure is completed,—when the process of integration, that is, has fulfilled itself,—can, as we have pointed out at the very outset of this essay, increase in efficiency only by an increasing specialisation of its component parts which secures a greater co-ordination and harmony in the social organism. But it must be warned that the biological arguments must not be pushed too far. To seek for the exact parallels of the structure of a complex biological organism in the discrete structure of the social organism will be to stultify our conception of society as a moving dynamic entity. But the fact remains that the monistic State is a hypothesis that is no longer true. Associational life, more real than ' political ' life has come to stay. All our activities must come from the bottom upwards, rather than filter from the top downwards. The association is the pivot round which the social mind is to revolve, and all our rational judgment of social values must be appraised and accepted by the group.

The rise of the new psychology of the group-mind and its acute analysis of the crowd-mind has changed entirely the orthodox outlook in social theory. The State, for instance, does not now deal with individuals, but with groups. The individual does not think in terms of a mythical entity called the State but in terms of self as conditioned by the group or the region. The principle of self-determination as an accepted tenet of modern imperialism is the crystallisation of the same theory of political pluralism in the sphere of high policy. It is interesting to find that this principle of the group or the regional organisation of the State was realised in practice long ago by the Eastern communal democracy,[1] and is another proof, if proof is required, that the West has still much to learn from the East,—though there is this difference that in the East, notably in India, the communal democracy was original, and not formed by the gradual delegation or delimitation of the functions of the central authority which must necessarily be the line in the West. And as Kropotkin observes, "Each economical phase of life implies its own political phase," and a change in the economic life of the people implies a corresponding change in the political organisation of the State, and the postulate of a universal political sense is not warranted by facts.

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[1] " The origin of the Indian village and functional bodies is also far different from that corresponding institutions in Western polity. The latter are the outcome of the delegation and delimitation of the central authority of the State, The former have an

Should there be, or should there *not* be, a central political machinery, is a question to which there can be only one answer: there *should.* There are many questions which affect the groups as a whole and there are many others which a combination of all the groups, organised for those purposes, can only solve. But as to the form in which this combined authority is to find expression, it is a matter for each State to decide. But it is clear that its functions should be restricted to the narrowest possible limits. The sovereignty would vest *ipso facto* for the simple fact that each group in obeying the "commands" of such a machinery will only be realising and obeying its own direct will. On all other topics, "the only way of preserving sufficient liberty is the organisation of citizens with special interests into groups, determined to preserve autonomy as regards their internal affairs......The glorification of the State, and the doctrine that it is every citizen's duty to serve the State, are radically against progress and liberty."[2]

KHAGENDRANATH SEN

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independent origin and development and the State here had often to treat them on terms of equality and recognise their pre-existing rights of conventions and agreements which operated as charters regulating their mutual relations."—Radhakamal Mookerjee: *Democracies of the East,* Ch. 21.

[2] Bertrand Russel: *Roads to Freedom,* Ch. 5.

PORTRAIT OF A ROMANTIC

"I think it takes more to make an Englishman, on the whole, than to make anyone else—and I say this with a consciousness of all that often seems to me to have been left out of their composition..." So Henry James wrote from London in 1880 ; and it was his considered judgment of the people with whom he "lost all patience about fifteen times a day," yet loved them well and accounted them as the great race. So many factors contributed to the making of George Wyndham that he cannot fairly be called a representative modern Englishman. The brief "Prelude of Ancestry" with which Mr. Mackail opens his massive volumes is almost a necessity to the understanding of George Wyndham's rich personality and varied attainments, for in him English, Scotch, French and Irish strains were mingled.

Among the Paston letters is one written by a certain John Wyndham, about 1465, with a single postscript line which is so significant that it might have been adopted as the family motto : "And how that ever ye do, hold up your manship." That heritage, wider than the limits of family or race, was the one which George Wyndham maintained throughout his life.

His mother, Mrs. Percy Wyndham, was the grand-daughter of Lord Edward Fitzgerald and of *la belle Pamela.* She inherited remarkable graces of mind and person, and in her turn transmitted them to her children, of whom George was the eldest son, born August 29, 1863.

The glimpses given of his childhood and youth at Cocker-mouth Castle, Isel or, later on, at Wilbury, take us back to a world which had not lost its sense of enchantment and could still be thrilled by the touch of romance :

> "The two boys had little suits of armour, helmet, breast-plate and partisan, still extant, which were the furniture for endless adventure.

There is a pretty story of Dicky Doyle arriving one day on a visit, and as he came up the avenue, seeing among a drift of autumn leaves two knights and a damsel being impersonated, Mary Wyndham in a red skirt, George and Guy in their armour. He never forgot it."

It was through their mother's taste for art and the drama that the children were not only taken to Irving's Shakespeare plays at the Lyceum, but produced their own versions of *Romeo and Juliet, The Tempest,* and *Midsummer Night's Dream* in their holidays at Wilbury. Thus George Wyndham's love of English literature was a part of him from very early days.

Between 1877 and 1883, he passed through Eton, which he found "a lovely place," and Sandhurst; he was then gazetted to the Coldstream Guards. Early in 1885, his regiment was ordered to Egypt on active service. The day after he sailed his father wrote to him a letter which was kept by the younger man among his greatest treasures all his life : a letter that with all its simplicity, is classic in its expression of devotion to his son : of a highminded man's views of life and death : "...these occasions...leave Love and Duty *standing* as they will *stand for ever*...I cannot make you know what I think of *you, but I feel to have had such a son is not to have lived in vain.*"

George Wyndham was in several hot engagements during his short campaign, and commanded a company for a time before the battalion returned to England in September. In the summer of that year, Wilbury, which had only been leased by his family, was given up and "Clouds" became the Wyndham's beautiful Wiltshire home.

After his home-coming, a year of mental restlessness and rather feverish social life followed. Wyndham had faced death in Egypt, and left something of his light-hearted boyishness there. The new powers which were stirring in him found their natural outlet in his letters, in his early poems, and in extensive reading among French and English books :

"I have just finished Ockley's 'Saracens' ; they were very fascinating people ; like all people thoroughly in earnest, their lives give great pleasure to those who have nothing to be in earnest about. At least I think this is the great charm about early Jews, Christians, Saracens, Turks, Buddhists, and all the other early religious or political people, that they knew they were right and every-one else wrong ; whilst we only know we are wrong and think everybody else is too."

And later in the year, he wrote : "The two worlds of dreams and books are much more real to me than the third of things and people one meets." But nearer to him than he believed was "the happiest moment of life, winning the most lovely living thing." He was only twenty-four when he married the young widow of Earl Grosvenor, and thereby claimed that supremely happy family life which seemed to be the inalienable right of the Wyndhams, in the beautiful old Grange in Cheshire which was to be their future home.

While on his honeymoon in Italy, a letter from Mr. Balfour, then Chief Secretary for Ireland, invited him to return and act as his Private Secretary. For him, as his father's son, refusal was not possible, whether the "new adventure" appeared the most congenial or not. Mr. Mackail sums up the work and main-result of George Wyndham's public life thus :

"It brought successes and failures, triumphs and disappointments; and even when most engrossing it did not fill his life. He gave his mind to it, he spent on it both energy and labour; his treasure and his heart were elsewhere."

Not till two years later did he enter Parliament as member for Dover : he made his maiden speech in the House of Commons on February 17, 1890. He had been described a few years before as "outrageously handsome," and now his amazing good looks and his easy, graceful delivery impressed his critics in the Press more than the gist of his speech. Indeed, Mr. Mackail considers that his natural gifts "perhaps really hampered his political career......The public like a politician who can be easily caricatured. The House of Commons like one who addresses them in the plainest of prose." It is not difficult to imagine what his constituents would have felt if they had known that at this time he was a member of the "Crabbet Club," presided over by his cousin, Wilfred Blunt of eccentric fame—a club which met "to play lawn tennis, the piano, the fool, and other instruments of gaiety"; and had as one of its rules "that anyone becoming a Cabinet Minister or a Bishop, ceases *ipso facto* to be a member." Moreover, he was in love with French poetry of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and owned that the translation of a triolet by Charles d'Orléans, which he had begun in his bath, was finished as he sat "at the board meeting of the L. C. and D. R. directors!"

Between 1899 and 1905, George Wyndham's talents were at the Government's disposal, first at the War Office, as Under-Secretary, then as Chief Secretary for Ireland. But for weapons he had only the finely-tempered blades of honour and loyalty, and a man armed thus is hardly fully equipped for party politics, nor for self-defence. His sensitive nature and imaginative tastes must have suffered many blows from more robust opponents, though he brought to the fray the same spirit and determination that he gave to his soldiering or his sports. The opposing claims and interests are continually reflected in his delightful letters to his family and friends :

> "I mean to be callous but get engrossed in the game......There are so few on either side who pretend to act on principle, or even care to win for the sake of winning......I don't want to be thirty a bit. I like sailing boats on ponds and riding about with my hat off better than anything else. What have I done to deserve this?......The world of pens, ink and paper, ugly rooms, exhausted atmospheres, commonplace people and sordid details is all very well as a forest to go questing in. But you soon become a poor quester if you never go back to Camelot, to sing 'Tirralirra' by the river with Sir Lancelot......"

His impressions of scenes in France and Italy are like a Chinese painting in their delicate vigour :

> (On the way to Cannes) "......The sun set and all the gold became the very ghost of gold......We pulled up and waited long at 'Le May,'

I shall never forget the stillness, the purple zenith and light horizon with one dead aloe flower against it. The aloe that flowers and dies."

Yet while his mind steeped itself in beauty by instinct and desire, he did not shirk the tasks which were "strenuous, exacting and anxious," for he wrote in 1898:

> "It is strange to see all the different movements beginning to weave themselves into a cable to tow civilization back to its moorings. Will the cable break? That is the supreme question for those who care for politics and art and letters and who love their land."

And again:

> "How much more of courage and compassion and patience and sincerity is needed if the world is to go on any better than it has done!"

When he entered on his Irish work, he was moved to enthusiasm and even the Nationalist leaders acknowledged his charm and integrity. "Thank God, we have a gentleman as Chief Secretary," a political opponent remarked to him. Wyndham's Irish Land Bill, in 1903, was the best proof of his force in a cause that he had at heart. But it was carried through by effort and strain which left their mark on him and the glow of his triumph soon faded. "Had he been moved by personal ambition, or had he consulted his own material interest, he would have played for safety and relinquished the reins of Irish Government" when, later in the year, the Ministry was reconstructed, and he had the opportunity of being transferred to another office of greater titular dignity.

He felt that it would be against the interest of both countries to leave his post at that juncture, and he remained to face detraction, overwork, antagonism, till finally he believed that his continuance in office would injure the Irish questions and his political chiefs. He wrote thus in tendering his resignation to the Prime Minister:

> "Do not think of me, I shall be glad if misconstruction of my policy and above all of my action can some day be removed. But I am quite ready to wait for that."

Two months later, he made his own statement in the House of Commons and after that his mind was at ease. He had no cause for self-reproach; he allowed himself no vain regrets nor bitterness. His own attitude was expressed in the words which he wrote to a friend in 1907 :

> "You must not let disappointment weigh on your mind. May be is can be righted. May be it cannot. But what does it matter to an English gentleman?"

The remaining years were serener ones, for George Wyndham did not hold office again, and his political activities were relieved by studies in Romanticism, by riding, hunting and all the country occupations he loved. Occasionally he was in camp with his Cheshire Yeomanry. In 1908, he was at the large-scale cavalry manœuvres for a month and at the end he wrote in a grave vein of soldiering being more important than politics, using the prescient words, "if Germany fights France and we have to go to Belgium."

When he succeeded to the Clouds Estate on his father's death in 1911, he set himself " to do his duty by the little stretch of England for which he was responsible." He held that the part played by the landowners, large and small, was vital to the country's agriculture. He saw before him " happy and uselul employment for twenty years"—this was his eager vision in May, 1913, when he was not yet fifty, and the marriage of his only child, the beloved young Guardsman, had just taken place.

George Wyndham had summed up the experiences of a previous year in the words " I have lived and life is wonderful." They are the epitome of his whole earthly course. The swift, undreaded passing on June 9, 1913, while he was on a few days' visit to Paris, seems now but the fitting completion of the gracious life, filled with love and friendship, with perceptions of "all the colour and shape and music of life." He had made his choice long ago: and in a period of decadence he stood definitely for a Christian humanism, for the knightly virtues of patriotism, truth and courtesy.

Lionel Johnson's lines on " A Friend " might well have been inspired by George Wyndham :

"As one of us he wrought
Things of the common hour:
Whence was the charmed soul brought
That gave each act such power,
The natural beauty of a flower?"

MURIEL KENT

VEDANTA—A CHARTER FOR CATHOLICISM

Secular knowledge augmented everyday by contributions pouring in from different parts of the world has already stepped out of esoteric seclusion, communal and racial exclusiveness. It is high time therefore that theologians from different parts of the globe should join hands to deliver spiritual knowledge also out of communal and sectarian grooves and make it a universal property of mankind. Indeed it is a demand of the age, that theologians should meet to find out the unity underlying the different religions on earth—to discover the fact that just as there is a uniformity in the application of physical and biological laws to different ethnic groups of the human species, there must be a uniformity in the application of spiritual laws as well.

We believe that discourses on Vedanta will expedite the consummation of universalising religion, for Vedanta holds before our vision unity underlying all possible experiences on the spiritual plane **एकं सद्विप्रा बहुधा वदन्ति** "One alone exists, sages call it by various names." What a bold, clear, unambiguous charter for unbounded catholicism. This catholic outlook of Vedanta bestows upon us the proud privilege of making our obeisance before all religions, all scriptures, all saints and all apostles and makes it possible for us to feel and respect equally the sanctity of the Buddhist Vihar, the Christian Church, the Hindu Temple and the Mohammedan Mosque.

Religion is neither a bundle of philosophical speculations nor a store-house of meaningless ceremonials. It has a vital relation with our growth. Just as we grow physically and intellectually so we have a constitutional demand for spiritual growth. Every one of us has been panting every moment of our life for unbroken peace, unlimited knowledge and immortal life and all religions on earth declare in one voice that this can be found only in God and in nothing else and lay down one universal condition of realising God and that is purity.

From this it follows that the purpose of a religion is served if it can attract our vision away from the vanities of the world towards God and give us sufficient incentive to purify our mind and thus prepare us for realising Him. Now, people vary in their tastes, so the same picture cannot attract all. Gross minds require gross representations, and subtle minds, subtle, the intellectual man must have strict logic, while the emotional man requires a stir of his emotion. So there is absolutely no harm that different religions or even different sects of the same religion have drawn different pictures of the same fundamental truths, for if the different pictures of the same truth do really lead different groups of people to purify their minds, the purpose is served, because this process of purification alone will guide them surely to the realisation of the truth—as it really is. Unlike other religions Vedanta holds out a number of different representations of the fundamental truths, covering, as it were, the entire range of human taste and requirement.

By Vedanta, of course, we do not mean merely the monistic system of philosophy as propounded by Sankaracharya, though in this restricted sense it has come to be used by many. Vedanta literally means the end of the Vedas, which are the oldest scriptures of mankind. So by Vedanta we mean the Upanishads, which form the concluding portion of the Vedas. Like other scriptures on earth, these Upanishads are the outcome not of mere intellectual operations but of intuitive experiences of pure hearts. Here in these Upanishads we find an epitome of all shades of religious belief; it throws open to mankind a vast mine of spiritual experiences which make it possible for every creed to accommodate its doctrines to the views of the Upanishads. So numerous are the suggestions of Truth, so various are the representations of the fundamental truths met with in the Upanishads—"that almost anybody may seek in them what he wants and find what he seeks.''[1] This is why the sayings of the Upanishads have given rise to so many schools of philosophy in this land, which are nursing the various creeds enfolded within the catholic arms of Hinduism. Each school of dogmatics may fight with the other and may fasten its views to all the sayings of the Upanishads by straining their languages whenever necessary —each may try to 'victimise' the philosophy of the Upanishads by an interpretation of its own but the fact remains uncontradicted that all these different schools have drawn their inspiration from the same source, namely the Upanishads. The harmony of the Upanishads is not on the surface—the harmony is in the fact that all these various representations are not merely *guesses at truth* but *actual readings of the same truths* in the flash-light of intuition taken from different stages of spiritual growth and that every one of the representations fits in with the taste and requirement of a certain group of people.

The man of logic is perfectly satisfied when he hears of the Truth as the Impersonal Brahman described as **नेति नेति**—not this, not this ; for nothing can surpass the logical accuracy of this description of the Absolute. The Absolute is beyond Time, beyond Space and beyond Causation—so any attempt at describing the final cause limits it within the range of mental concept. The man of logic, therefore, is perfectly satisfied when in his ears rings out the passage **यतो वाचो निवर्त्तन्ते अप्राप्य मनसा सह**—from where baffled in the attempt, speech recoils with the mind.

But the thought of such an unconditioned and undifferentiated existence beyond the realm of all names, all forms, cannot surely be comprehended by many. Something more tangible, more concrete is required by the majority. Vedanta is ready with other representations to meet this requirement. '**विज्ञानमानन्दं ब्रह्म**' Brahman is Consciousness and Bliss. '**सत्यं ज्ञानमनन्तं ब्रह्म**' Brahman is Truth, Consciousness and Infinity. And Brahman is immanent in the universe, in and through Him every name and every form has its existence. ईशा वास्यमिदं सर्व्वं यत्किञ्च जगत्यां जगत् । The phenomenal world is pervaded by God. This is another representation of the same Impersonal Brahman ; but here something has been posited of the Absolute. Even this all-pervading Brahman is a reading of the Absolute taken through the mist of space-concept.

We meet with yet another picture—the picture of an "Antaryamin" a ruler of the universe—the Creator, the Preserver and Destroyer of the universe, the infinite abode of all that is good, all that is beautiful. Here we find God without form but with qualities, God of infinite love and infinite mercy. This suits the man of emotion, for he can pray before this God and find a solace in the thought of His infinite love and grace.

Even this is not sufficient, something yet more concrete is required by many. They must have God with a definite form and a fixed abode. Even such an idea of God is not wanting in the Upanishads. In Chandogya Upanishads we have the description of Brahman with a body of golden hue and lotus-eyes residing in the sun and in Kena Upanishad we find the glorious One, by whose power the fire burns and the air blows, appearing before Indra in the effulgent form of a beautiful female.

These widely different representations of the same Truth are but different readings taken from different standpoints like so many photographs of the same sun taken from different distances ब्रह्मेवेदमग्रे आसीत् एकमेवाद्वितीयम्. The One alone existed at the beginning—One without a second. The glorious One alone exists, untainted by any name or any form—and whatever we experience has its existence only in him. It is the Absolute, that looked through the prism of the mind appears as the world, and as this prism becomes more and more purified, the Absolute appears as God with form and with qualities, later on as God without form and with qualities ; and the culmination is reached when the mind becomes absolutely stainless and becomes dissolved as it were and the individual suddenly steps out of all limitations and merges in the Absolute.

This about the Final Cause; the same thing happens with Creation as well. The various sayings of the Upanishads have supplied materials to different schools of philosophy to hold out different explanations regarding the fact of Creation. But like the real nature of the Absolute, the first step towards creation will ever remain a mystery to the human mind—for both lie beyond its jurisdiction. We can't deny the fact that Brahman, in whom there cannot be any trace of differentiation, is after all the Final Cause of this infinitely differentiated universe. But how has such a contradiction become a fact will ever remain a puzzle to the intellect! For who can say how or why of the cause of causation itself? The query is logically absurd and any attempt at answering the query may be at best a theory, but it can never be a correct representation of the first step towards creation, the first step from the undifferentiated to the realm of differentiation. The different systems of philosophy simply give us so many theories, couched in grosser or finer imageries, to make the fact of creation comprehensible and acceptable to different groups of mentality.

The majority cannot comprehend anything more than a Personal God of Infinite Power creating this universe by His will. This may be a step in the process of creation—and the Upanishads boldly declare that it is so, when they describe Hiranyagarbha springing out of the Absolute and creating the universe by his will. But certainly this God with a will and an individuality cannot be the Final Cause, nor can this step be the last word about creation.

For yet finer minds there is the theory of the projection of this universe out of the Impersonal Brahman—like hair and nails growing out of the body, like trees shooting out of the earth, and like cobwebs coming out of the spider.

"यथोर्णनाभः सृजते गृह्णते च, यथा पृथिव्यामोषधयः सम्भवन्ति ।
यथा सतः पुरुषात् केशलोमनि, तथाऽक्षरात् सम्भवतीह विश्वम् ॥"

They look upon Impersonal Brahman as both the efficient as well as the material cause of the univease. Undoubtedly this is a bold advance towards the fact of creation but even this falls short of the truth, for it cannot satisfy extreme reason.

To the strict Adwaitists—who form the vanguard of rational speculations about the fundamental truths, this causal relations of this universe with the Absolute, taken in its literal sense, appears to be a logical absurdity. How can the Absolute change? This is simply—absurd. So they say that the whole thing about creation is an illusion and not a fact. The universe has only an apparent existence, just like the illusion of a snake on a rope or a mirage in the desert, and they ascribe this illusion to the agency of Maya—an inscrutable power of Brahman.

But even this does not solve the riddle of creation. For one may ask the Adwaitist, "How do you know that the Absolute cannot change? Do you fear that the law of contradiction will be violated? But the law of contradiction is a fact within creation. What right have we to stretch it beyond the universe and bind the Absolute by its shackles?

Therefore we cannot say definitely whether it is a case of real or apparent manifestation just as we cannot say anything definitely about the real nature of the Absolute. Indeed Brahman is wonderful unlike any other thing within the range of our conception and this inexplicable self-contradictory fact of the one becoming many has been possible in Him and this fact we may call Maya. None of these different representations of the different systems give the final word about creation—they are only theories—so they have no reason to quarrel, because every one of them has the pragmatic value of drawing different groups of human minds towards the Eternal Abode of infinite knowledge, bliss and existence.

One word more about creation. Vedanta believes in cycles of creation and dissolution. The universe is not literally created but is said to be projected and again withdrawn, as it were, and this rhythmic process has been going on eternally. This position satisfies reason; for really creation, which involves the creation of Time, cannot certainly have any beginning in time.

Now let us take up the last and the most vital topic, namely, the relation between the individual self, nature and God.

Here also two different views are upheld by the two prominent schools of Vedanta, the monistic and the qualified monistic. As a matter of fact the qualified monistic view, championed so ably by Ramanujacharyya, is the basis of all conceptions of the various dualistic sects within the fold of Vedanta. For whoever will acknowledge the authority of the Vedanta cannot accept dualism in its strictest sense—he must accommodate his creed to a fundamental unity preached by Vedanta.

According to Ramanujacharyya, Nature and Souls have separate existence, although they are one in essence with the Antaryamin—the ruler of the universe. The souls are bound by the laws of nature—but they can become free by the grace of God only if they struggle for it and become pure. Even after freedom from the shackles of the sense world, they retain their individuality, although then they shine in their innate nature of infinite Bliss, Knowledge and Existence—for they are one in essence with the Lord.

Of the laws of nature, to which the soul is bound till it attains freedom, the most rigorous one is the law of Causation. And here all schools of Vedanta are unanimous. All of them accept this portion of the Sankhya system of cosmology and believe that every bit of this phemomenal universe is made of matter—gross or fine. Body, vital energy, mind, intelligence, ego are all made of matter ranging from the grossest to the finest and corresponding to these Ādhyātmik entities there are material worlds of various degrees of fineness. Now all these comprise nature and there is not a single recess in nature which is free from the yoke of this law of causation. Every change in any sphere of this nature must be preceded by a cause and followed by an effect. The souls encased, as it were, in five sheaths of matter of different grades of fineness, namely physical body, vital body, mental body, ego body and causal body—make up the individual. Every action of the individual is bound to bring a result—and the result comes in the shape of pleasure or pain and the embodied soul is never immune from the dual throng hanging on the elementary sensations of pleasure and pain. Each experience of an individual is causally linked with one or other of his own actions. The child is born blind—he himself must be responsible for the suffering—this leads to a logical assumption of a previous birth. Indeed the infinite variety of experiences of different individuals cannot be accounted for by the actions within the brief space of one single life—so the Vedantists hold that death is nothing but a dropping of the physical body, when the self with the remaining four bodies proceed to finer worlds of intense enjoyment or intense pain according to his own actions—"**पुण्यो वै पुण्येन कर्म्मणा भवति पापः पापेन** ;" and after a period it comes again to be born in this physical world and builds another physical body. Thus from birth to death and death to birth the embodied soul proceeds through the almost inextricable maze of Karma.

Now, to all schools of Vedanta, Moksha or freedom means freedom of the individual from this inexorable law of Karma. This may take place only when the self is extricated out of the meshes of nature. And Ramanujacharyya says—only those, who struggle hard for freedom and become absolutely pure, are lifted above nature by the grace of God. Dualists of all schools take their stand on such a fundamental conception of Moksha.

But this is not all. Sankaracharyya stands up with the tenets of monistic philosophy and says, " Yes, what you have said is all true. The soul encased in five sheaths bound by the laws of Karma, its repeated births in this world and its sojourns to finer worlds, its struggle for freedom and attainment of purity, and God and His grace of awarding Moksha, as you have conceived. are all true—only you have to take the whole thing with a grain of salt. The entire thing—the distinct existences of soul, nature and God and their inter-relations, as you have described—are true only in a relative sense—all these have only a Vyavahārik or apparent existence and not an absolutely real one. The monists hold that One alone exists and any idea of differentiation is due to Avidya or ignorance of the reality. So even the Moksha of the qualified monist or the dualist, which retains an individuality of the soul distinct from God is within the range of Avidya or ignorance. Moreover the self as long as it has a body, however fine that may be, is susceptible to pleasure and pain. So by Moksha the monists mean the complete disappearance of Avidya and necessarily of all ideas of duality—when the illusory limited individuality drops off—the phenomenal world vanishes—and the soul finds itself one with Brahman.

According to this school, ignorance of the reality of the soul's identity with Brahman is the fundamental cause of bondage—so naturally "Knowledge about this identity" is the only cause of freedom. The soul is already free, it is already one with Brahman, the idea of its bondage is an illusion and it has to be rooted out by true knowledge. We are bound by our actions, our actions proceed from our desires and desires from Avidyā or a false notion of identity of self with non-self, which they call Adhyāsa. According to them, therefore, real Moksha or absolute freedom from all duality of name and form can be attained by discrimination between self and non-self and a practical application of this intellectual process in the shape of renunciation which is an attempt at rooting out desires. And this they prescribe only for those, who are sufficiently purified by prayers, worship, and performance of worldly duties in the right attitude to comprehend this identity of self with Brahman and practise a considerable detachment from the attractions of the sense-world. As we have said before, these monists believe in the Vyavahārik existence of the phenomenal world, so they need not grudge to admit that the freedom of the dualist may be compared to a stage in the soul's journey, for they believe in क्रममुक्ति—that is freedom attained through stages of spiritual development.

So practically there is no serious contradiction between the two views with regard to the relation of the individual with nature and God. Both take their stand on the essential divinity of the soul and declare that it can never be bound permanently by nature, however inexorable that may be. Freedom is the birthright of every soul—it is always free, it is always above nature, it is always of the same essence as God,—its bondage is a temporary appearance due to the impurity of the various bodies or sheaths through which it works. This is the message of Vedanta and indeed this is a message of hope and strength. The man is not hopelessly bound by a superior power; for every act of omission or commission he has not to tremble before the judgment of an unseen autocrat—he has simply to remain prepared for the consequence of his own actions and work out his own salvation by manifesting the Divinity that is already within him. " उद्धरेदात्मनात्मानं नात्मानमवसादयेत् " Liberate yourself by your own efforts; never get disheartened.

Vedanta is verily a gospel of hope and strength. Even those who cannot appreciate anything beyond sense pleasures, are not summarily dismissed with a threat of eternal damnation. Vedanta looks upon them with sympathy and says that it is quite natural for man to be roaming in the sense-world—for his senses are so constituted that they reveal to him the external world and not the inner self.—" पराञ्चिखानि व्यतृणत् स्वयम्भूः परां पश्यति नान्तरात्मन् " Thus every individual goes through repeated births and deaths searching happiness in the sense-world till his own experience teaches him the facts that pleasure unalloyed with pain is an absurdity in nature and that fulfilment of desires never quenches the thirst for enjoyment. Becoming wise by experience every individual is sure to enquire one day of the path of liberation from this tyranny of desires and every one of them is sure to find it ultimately in God.

Verily is the Vedanta a precious mine of strength and inspiration. Verily does it teach us to take a liberal and sympathetic view of everything about us. It explains why we should be patient even with the hardest criminal. It reminds us of the potential divinity of every creature and sweeps out all distinctions as so many accidents on an essential unity. It holds before our vision a number of readings of the same fundamental Truth,—covering in principle the entire range of human taste and comprehension and forming the corner-stone, as it were, of different types of structural details in the form of different religions. We do not mean to say that all religions have sprung up from Vedanta, but that the philosophical positions of all religions may be explained by referring to one or other of the readings found in Vedanta. If the different religions be so many melodies, in Vedanta we find the key-note of each of them. Thus—Vedanta accommodates every shade of doctrinal opinion and every stage of psychological growth. Indeed it will not be too much to call Vedanta an epitome of religious catholicity.

SWAMI NIRVEDANANDA

TRUE WISDOM

When wise Minerva sprang from Jove's great brain
With shield and helmet, 'twas with this intent:
To teach that time in learning is best spent,
That Wisdom is a shield 'gainst all earth's pain.

'Twas so I thought, in mine own wise conceit—
I set myself to conning stars above,
Instead of seeking knowledge of sweet Love—
But tried in vain my hungry soul to cheat.

I dived in Greek, and in all classic lore—
In esoteric teachings sought to find
The great content that comes from peace of mind.
On honeyed sweets I supped, but wanted more.

I trod the dust of Egypt's ancient shrine,
In hope of reading secret of the Sphinx—
And sought of her incarnate missing links,
The lack of which all theories confine.

In broken urns, and mutilated gods,
In storied dust where buried Cæsars lay,
And sought for treasures in Pompeian clay—
But 'twas in vain I turned up broken sods!

'Twas Solomon who taught of worthless things:
Of pride, ambition, and the lure of gold—
Of beauty, lust, and Earth's toys manifold—
And of the empty power of hapless kings!

But Solomon had tasted every sweet;
Had walked on gold and won ambition's crown,
And in the cup of pleasure sought to drown
His sorrow, that life was so incomplete—

For like a gourmand at the feast of Life,
He'd tasted every dish and drunk each wine—
Had found all vain, and so began to pine,
And seek for Wisdom, and thus end the strife.

"Get Wisdom!" that begins and ends his cry;
Wisdom who builds not on the shifting sand;
Wisdom to test, and weigh and understand;
To comfort when we're old and come to die.

Knowledge will come with time, and thought and tears—
Wisdom as well, but love is to my mind
The purest, best, the gold that is refined—
'Tis lack of love that keeps life in arrears!

Minerva may go hang, for aught I care,
Beside Arachne! Love is all my mood—
My dream by night, my wine, my daily food!
Get Love; *that's Wisdom*—and 'tis aye my prayer!

TERESA STRICKLAND

MASKARI-GOŚĀLA'S EARLY LIFE

Gośāla as a personal name.

Buddhaghoṣa informs us that the third Ājīvika Tīrthaṅkara was known by two names, the first of which was Makkhali, and the second, Gosāla.[1] He seems to mean that Makkhali was really a nickname used as an epithet, while Gosāla was his original personal name. We have the authority of the Jaina Bhagavatī-Sūtra to say that Gosāla was the personal name given him by his parents ; while Maṃkhaliputta (or, simply Maṃkhali) was his distinctive epithet. It is not difficult to establish that Maskarī or one of its Prakrit equivalents, Makkhali and Maṃkhali, was nothing but an epithet befitting his career as a veṇu-Parivrājaka. Gośālīputra, or simply Gośālī, occurring in the Divyâvadāna and the Mahāvastu, is evidently a later Sanskritised form of Gosāla, the earlier Prakrit name. Buddhaghoṣa says that Gosāla was called Gosāla because he happened to be born in a gosālā, Cow-penman because he happened to be born in a cow-pen.[2] The account given in the Bhagavatī-Sūtra is to the same effect : Gosāla was given the name Gosāla because he happened to be born in the cow-pen of a 'go-bahula' Brahmin, rich in cattle.[3]

Is Gośāla or Gosāra the Sanskrit form of of the name Gosāla ?

The fact that the name Gosāla has been Sanskritised in Sanskrit Buddhist works as Gośālī or Gośālīputra goes to show that there was no definite earlier tradition as to Gośāla receiving the name Gosāla on account of his birth in a gosālā. The tradition that we now have seems to have grown out of the commentators' attempts to account for the origin of the name Gosāla etymologically, assuming it to be the genuine Pāli or ardha-Māgadhī form. In Indian literature we have such classical names as Gopatha, Gopāla and Gorakṣa without an implication of this kind. The Theragāthā contains the Psalm of a Buddhist Thera named Gosāla, whose personal history, as supplied in Dharmapāla's commentary, shows that he was born in the Buddha-age in a wealthy Magadhese family.[1] Here the commentator makes no suggestion as to his being called Gosāla on account of his birth in a cow-pen. The Barhut stone-railing furnishes us with an instance, where in inscribing a votive label the scribe has corrected the name Gopāla to Gosāla.[2] If the evidence of the Theragāthā and the Barhut votive label proves anything, it is that Gosāla was a fashionable Indian name, and nothing more. It cannot be a matter of surprise that Gosāla was just a dialectical form of the Sk. Gosāra, meaning one who is 'go-bahula' or 'gośālī,' that is, rich in cattle, or simply, rich or wealthy.

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[1] Papañca-Sūdanī, Siamese Edition, II, p. 315 : *Makkhalī* ti tassa nāmaṃ. *Gosalo* ti dutiyaṃ nāmaṃ.

[2] *Ibid*, II, p. 315 : Gosālāya jātattā Gosālo.

[3] Bhagavatī-Sūtra, XV, 1, Leaf. 1205 :
Gobahulassa māhaṇassa gosālāe jāte, taṃ hou ṇaṃ
amhaṃ imassa dāragassa ṇāmadhejjaṃ Gosāle'' tti.

Parentage and birth and name of Gośāla.

The Bhagavatī-Sūtra supplies us with a somewhat garbled version of the story of Gośāla's parentage and birth, as well as of the origin of his name, which it puts into Mahāvīra's mouth, obviously to make it appear as authentic. In spite of its naiveté, the Jaina story is not without its importance for the reason that we get through it an echo of the genuine Ājīvika tradition. "A maṃkha, known by the name of Maṃkhali, was Gosāla's father. A woman, known by the name of Bhadrā, was Maṁkhali—Maṃkha's wife. She, as her name implies, was graceful, and had all the rare gifts of an accomplished lady. She at one time was blessed with maternity. At that time there was a settlement called Śaravana. It was a delightful locality, which showed all the signs of prosperity. There, in the Śaravana settlement, lived a Brahmin, Gobahula by name. He was rich, rich in cattle as one might say, and was at the same time free from all the acts of vice for which he would have been despised. He was profoundly learned, thoroughly conversant with the knowledge of the Ṛg-Veda and well versed in the whole of Brahmanical lore. There was also a cow-pen on the homestead of Gobahula, the Brahmin. Then it happened that while, on a certain occasion, Maṃkhali-Maṃkha travelled from village to village, wandering about hither and thither, together with his wife, who was blessed with maternity, dressing himself in the garb of a maṃkha with a picture-board in his hands, he wended his way towards the place where the cow-pen of the Brahmin Gobahula was, and having arrived there, took shelter in this cow-pen, throwing off (getting down) his baggage and arranging it in a corner thereof. Since he came to dwell in the Śaravana settlement, going from house to house to collect alms from the high, low and middle-class families, he looked out in all possible ways and in all roads for a shed under which he might spend the rainy season that ensued, and having failed to secure a shelter elsewhere, he entered on the *varṣā*-residence in one part of the Brahmin Gobahula's cow-pen. It is during this period of time that his wife Bhadrā after having completed full nine months and seven days and a half of her maternity, gave birth to a tender and in all respects a handsome lad. After eleven days had passed away, just on the twelfth day, the parents of this lad selected for him a name suggestive of bovine attributes, deliberating thus: 'Whereas this our son is born in the cow-pen of the Brahmin Gobahula, let Cow-pen-man (Gosāla) be his personal name.' Thereupon they came to fix his name as Gosāla.''[1] Gośāla's birth-place, the

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[1] Psalms of the Brethren, being an English translation of the Theragāthā, by Mrs. Rhys Davids, p. 27. According to Buddhaghoṣa, *mahasāla-mahasāra*, a man of substance.

[2] Barhut Inscriptions, edited by Barua and Singha,

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[1] Bhagavatī-Sūtra, XV, 1, Leaves 1204-1205 : Gosālāssa Maṃkhaliputtassa Maṃkhaliṇāmaṃ pitā hotthā. Tassa ṇaṃ Maṃkhali-Maṃkhassa Bhaddā ṇāmaṃ bhariyā

Gośāla's parents.

Saravana settlement, is described as a delightful locality, which showed all the signs of prosperity. The Brahmin Gobahula is introduced as a rich man who was free from all the acts of vice for which he might be despised, and a profoundly learned man who was conversant with the knowledge of the Ṛg-Veda and well-versed in all the sciences and arts. His mother Bhadrā is praised as a graceful woman who had all the rare gifts of an accomplished lady. And the infant Gośāla is eulogised as a tender and in all respects a handsome lad. If he had been an ordinary man, we could not have such glowing descriptions of his birth-place, the owner of the homestead where he was born, his mother and infancy. All persons and all things associated with his birth are highly praised. Gobahula, which is said to have been the name of the rich, high-minded and profoundly learned Brahmin, is but a synonym of Gośāla or Gośālī. Anyhow, there seems to have been an earlier Ājīvika account of Gośāla's parentage and birth, in which he was probably described as the son of a rich, good-natured and learned Brahmin, Gosāra, Gośāla or Gobahula by Bhadrā, a lady who was a model of womanhood. As we have a glowing account of Mahāvīra's parentage and birth in the Ācārâṅga and Kalpa Sūtras, or that of the Buddha's parentage and birth in the Jātaka-Nidāna-Kathā, Lalita-Vistara and Mahāvastu, so there must have been a similar account prepared by the Ājīvikas of their great Tīrthaṅkara's parentage and birth.

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hotthā, sukumāla jāva paḍirūva. Ta-eṇaṃ sā Bhaddā bhariyā aṇṇāya kayāiṃ guvviṇiyāvi hotthā. Teṇaṃ kāleṇaṃ teṇaṃ samaeṇaṃ Saravaṇe ṇāmaṃ saṇṇivese hotthā, riddhatthamiya jāva sannibha-ppase pasādie. Tatthaṇaṃ...........Gobahule ṇāmaṃ māhaṇe parivasai, aḍḍhe jāva aparibhūe, Riuvveya jāva suparinitṭhieyavi hotthā. Tassaṇaṃ...... gosālāyavi hotthā. Taeṇaṃ se Maṃkhali-Maṃkha-ṇāmaṃ.........bhariyāe guvviṇie saddhiṃ cittaphalaga-hatthagae Maṃkhattaṇeṇaṃ appāṇaṃ bhāvemāṇe puvvâṇupuvviṃ cāramāṇe gāmâṇugāmaṃ duijjamāṇe......Saravaṇe saṇṇivese ucca-nīya-majjhimaiṃ kulaíṃ gharasamudāṇassa bhikhāyariyāe aṭamāṇe......māhaṇassa gosālāe egadesaṃsi vasa-vāsaṃ uvāgae. Taeṇaṃ sā Bhaddā......suknmāla jāva paḍirūvaṃ dāraga......ṭassa dāragassa amma-piyaro ṇāmadhejjaṃ kareṃti Gosāle tti, Social status of Gośāla's parents. His own status. Profession of his father. His own profession, the profession of a Maṃkha.

Judging by the Jaina account in the Bhagavatī-Sūtra, one has to admit that Gośāla's parents had no social status whatever. Gośāla, too, had the same fate, if we are to believe with Buddhaghoṣa that he had been engaged as a slave in the service of a rich householder before he ran away naked in fear of his master. The truth of Buddhaghoṣa's story is contradicted by the Jaina account in which we are told that Gośāla's father Maṃkhali was a maṃkha by profession, and that Gośāla himself adopted the same profession as soon as he, after having passed his childhood, reached the years of discretion and grew to manhood.[1] The vagrant life of his parents which finds mention in the Bhagavatī-Sūtra is consistent not so much with the mode of ordinary Indian beggars as with that of Parivrājakas and Parivrājikās, of Indian wandering ascetics or strolling mendicants, male and female, who walked out of society and sought for shelter in royal parks, mountain-caves, corpses' lying-in grounds (crematoria, charnel-fields), open fields, deserted houses, potters' premises, or cow-pens. They generally looked out for such shelters at the approach of the rainy season during which they had fixed resorts or residences. If we believe the Jaina story, Gośāla's parents were a couple of Maskarī and Maskarinī who entered on their varṣā-residence in the settlement Śaravana, in the cow-pen of the rich and learned Brahmin Gobahula. Before they reached Śaravana, they had travelled from town to town, from village to village, wandering about hither and thither, the husband and wife together, the husband carrying a load of baggage, as well as a picture-board in his hands. From their arrival in Śaravana they went from house to house, from door to door, to collect alms from all classes of people and from all quarters, inducing the people to acts of piety by showing to them pictures and explaining their subjects. Assuming all these details to be true, we feel no difficulty in deriving out of the Jaina story an account of Gośāla as a male issue of a couple of Indian Maskaris or Parivrājakas. All the same, we adhere to our opinion that the Jaina historiographer has foisted upon Gośāla the story of a parentage which is true of Indian life, though not of him.

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[1] Bhagavatī-Sūtra, XV. 1, Leaf 1206 : Saeṇaṃ se Gosāle dārae ummukā-valabhāve viṇṇāya-pariṇayamatte jubbaṇagamanuppatte......maṃkhattaṇeṇaṃ appāṇaṃ bhāvemāṇe viharai.

Were there any Parivrājakas in India who led some sort of a married life and adopted the profession of a maṃkha.

The intention of the Jaina historiographer is to represent Gośāla's parents as vagabonds or homeless and strolling street-beggars, a vagrant couple who virtually lived a nomadic life, wandering about in the country, and going from house to house, from door to door, to collect alms by inducing the people of all classes and quarters to show charity by means of certain pictures shown and explained by them. It is conceivable that there were then, as there are now in India, some classes of vagrant population, the members of which extracted alms from the charitable or secured monetary help from the interested or inquisitive section of humanity either by showing pictorial representations, or by singing songs, or by supplying drugs and cures, or by predicting future events and recounting past incidents, or by performing magical, acrobatic and such other feats. There are at present the Vāuls (Vātulas) and Vairāgis, a section of the Vaiṣṇavas in Bengal, who extract alms from the charitable by singing the praises of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa or ballads relating to the sports and dalliances of souls, human and divine, singing the songs either as pairs and groups of lovers, or even as married couples, and representing a people who live on the border-land of orthodox Hindu society. Dr. Höernle draws our attention to a class of beggars in Bengal, the members of which usually carry crude pictures or representations of Śītalā or Olābibi, and to another in Orissa, the members of which carry the pictures of Jagannāth.[1] Prof. Haraprasad Sastri observes: "The Dharmagharia Yogis are to be found in large numbers in South-Western Bengal. The so-called Brahmins who beg with the image of Śītalā in their hands and come from Howrah and Midnapore districts are all Dharmagharia Yogis. They do not put on the holy thread, but they use copper in some form or other on their person after their initiation to religious life. They worship Dharma at Dharma temples."[2] And he fancies: "From the locality they come, they seem most likely to be the survivals of the Hīnayānist monks of the Tāmralipta country."[2] There is also a special class of beggars among the Muslim population in Bengal, the members of which collect alms either by singing from door to door the ballads of Satya-Pīr and Māṇik-Pīr,[3] or by showing the Fakir's lamp from door to door, generally at nightfall[4] or by displaying hypnotic powers.[5] One interesting fact about this last class of beggars is that its members collect alms from all families, Hindu as well as Musalman, while the Vairāgis and Dharmagharia Yogis confine their begging-rounds to Hindu families.

Proofs of the existence of such Parivrājakas in India.

The life of the Indian wandering ascetics and recluses was in a sense an ideal reversion to the vagrancy of the nomads. There is no lack of evidence to prove the existence of the Parivrājakas and Parivrājikās in India who led some sort of a married life and adopted the profession of a maṃkha, and that as early as the 6th or 7th century B.C. In the Pāli Ghoṭamukha-Sutta, the

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[1] Uvāsaga-Dasāo (Upāsaka-Daśāṅga), translated by Hoernle in the Bibliotheca Indica series, Appendix I.

[2] Introduction to Modern Buddhism and its followers in Orissa by Nagendra Nath Vasu, p. 17. Our information is that the persons begging with the image of Śitalā, Vimalā (Vimbalā in the Oriya pronunciation), Hiṅgulā or a similar deity, are the priestly Brahmins, no matter of which rank or order, who put on the holy thread.

[3] These ballad-singers or minstrels are known as Gāens.

[4] Those who beg by showing the Fakir's lamp are called in Bengal Pīr-Sāhibs or Muskil-Āsāns.

[5] They go out on begging rounds at day-time with a canoe-shaped bowl in their hands.

Brahmin Ghoṭamukha or Ghoṭakamukha, an Indian teacher whose views on erotics are quoted in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra and Vātsyâyana's Kāma-Sūtra, has been represented as strongly maintaining this opinion: "N'atthi dhammiko Paribbājo (Paribbājako)." "That there is no Parivrājaka who has gone out for conformity to the ideal (for the sake of religion as we now would say)."[1] The opinion of the Brahmin teacher clearly indicates the existence of the high ideal of character and presumes the want of men, even among the wandering ascetics, to fulfil it. Whatever be the actual bearings of the Brahmin Ghoṭamukha's opinion, we have the Culla-Dhammasamādāna-Sutta to bear testimony to the existence of some orders of Indian recluses and ascetics who advocated and practised the Vāmācāra-Sahajiyā-cult of which we know enough through the Buddhist songs and dohās and the compositions of the early Vaiṣṇava poets of Bengal. In the Pāli Sutta, the Buddha has been represented as making the following observations :

"There are some recluses and Brahmanical ascetics who hold this opinion and boldly say this : 'There is no iniquity in the acts of lust.' They fall victims to the acts of lust, they have, indeed, dalliances with molibaddhā-Paribbājikā, the female ascetics with topknots of hair. Arguing, they say this : 'As a matter of fact, the venerable recluses and Brahmanical ascetics seeing future dangers arising from the acts of lust, teach their abandonment and enunciate the method of avoiding them.' Thinking that pleasant is the touch of the arms of a youthful, tender and hairy Parivrājikā, they fall victims to the acts of lust."[2] The Kathā-vatthu which is traditionally known to have been a Pāli compilation of the Aśokan age embodies two curious controversies, one about the legality of entering upon sexual relations with a united resolve, and the other regarding the fact of the infra-human beings entering upon sexual relations in the guise of the Arahants. Buddhaghoṣa in his commentary on the Kathāvatthu, says that the Andhakas (Āndhrakas) and the Vetulyakas (Vaitulyakas) were of this opinion that sexual relations might be entered upon with a united resolve.[1] It is not clear from the details of this controversy whether, in the opinion of these Buddhist sects and schools, this way of life was becoming of the Bhikṣus or only of the householders. The second controversy involves a dispute about the implication of the statement: 'The infra-human beings enter upon sexual relations in the guise of the Arahants.'[2] The details of this controversy imply that the infra-human beings in certain regions entered upon sexual relations in the guise of the Arahants as a lesson meant to be conveyed to those wicked Bhikṣus who had outwardly gentle manners and observed the rules of discipline. Buddhaghoṣa says that the quoted statement was made and defended by some of the Uttarāpathakas. The conclusion which might be drawn from this is that among the uncivilised peoples in Uttarāpatha (Uttarapatha), the North-Western Frontier region of India, there arose some Buddhist sects permitting their Bhikṣus to enter upon sexual relations. Be that as it may, here we may cite three instances to prove our case. Dharmapāla in his Theragāthā-commentary, says that the Buddhist Thera Sāmaññakāni was the son of a Parivrājaka.[3] As he does not clearly state whether the Thera was born before his father left the

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[1] The Ghoṭamukha-Sutta is a Sutta in the Majjhima-Nikāya. As to Ghoṭamukha being a teacher of erotic science, see our History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy, p. 338.

[2] Majjhima-Nikāya, I, p. 305 : Santi eke samaṇa-brāhmaṇā evaṃvādino evaṃdiṭṭhino : 'N'atthi kāmesu doso'ti. Te kāmesu pātabyataṃ āpajjantî, te kho molibaddhāhi Paribbājikāhi saddhiṃ paricārenti. Te evaṃ āhaṃsu : 'kiṃ su nāma te bhonto samaṇa-brahmaṇā kāmesu anāgatabhayaṃ sampassitvākāmesu pahāṇaṃ āhaṃsu, kāmānaṃ pariññaṃ paññāpenti.' 'Sukho imissā Paribbājikāya taruṇāya mudukāya lomasāya bāhāya

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samphasso' ti te kāmesu pātabyataṃ āpajjanti. Papañca-Sūdanī, Siamese Edition, II, p. 501 : *molibaddhāhi* ti moliṃ katvā bandha-kesāhi Tāpasa-Paribbājikāhi.

[1] Kathāvatthu, XXIII. 1 : Ekâdhippāyena methuno dhammo sevitabbo. See the Points of Controversy.

[2] Kathāvatthu, XXIII. 2 : Arahantānaṃ vaṇṇena amanussā methunaṃ dhammaṃ patisevanti.

[3] Psalms of the Brethren, XXXV,

world, or after he had lapsed into the world, the instance may be treated as one of doubtful import. The biography of the Wanderer Sabhiya (Sabhya) goes to show that he was the son of a nobleman's daughter, who had an undesirable intimacy with a young Parivrājaka. She was committed by her parents to the charge of a Parivrājaka, that she might learn other doctrines and usages. It is while she was still under training that she made friendship with the young Parivrājaka, who was one of the resident pupils of the Wanderer teacher.[1] This instance might be treated as an exception rather than a rule. But we have the third instance which proves our case. In the biography of the Buddhist Thera Vaṅgisa (Vāgīśa) supplied in the Sutta-Nipāta-commentary, it is definitely stated that he was the son of a Parivrājaka and a Parivrājikā.[2] Vaṅgisa and many other Theras who are described in the Thera-Gāthā-commentary or in Buddhaghoṣa's Manoratha-Pūraṇī as persons born in Brahmin families were probably the sons of the Parivrājaka parents, some at least, if not all.

Brahmins or Brahmanical ascetics as Maṃkhas.

The maṃkhas are described in the Sanskrit Ṭīkā of the Bhagavatī-Sūtra as a special class of Indian beggars vagabondising with picture-boards.[3] It appears from the description given in the Sūtra itself that the picture-boards were carried by these beggars in their hands. According to the information supplied in the Bhāṣā, the pictures themselves were drawn upon wooden boards.[4] Gośāla's parents belonged to this class of beggars, if the Jaina account be true. He himself adopted the profession of a maṃkha when he reached the years of discretion. The manner in which the maṃkhas wandered about and went on begging rounds is well described in the Bhagavatī-Sūtra and its commentaries. It is related that as soon as Gośāla grew to manhood, he made a separate picture-board by his own efforts, and carrying the same in his hands, moved about in the garb of a maṃkha.[1] The Jaina historiographer is reticent about the materials, techniques, motives and subject-matters of the pictures drawn and shown by the maṃkhas. He is silent also about the caste to which the maṃkhas belonged. In one of the Dialogues in the Saṃyutta-Nikāya, the Buddha draws the attention of his disciples to a class of imaginative pictures called Caraṇa or Karaṇa. Buddhaghoṣa paraphrases *caraṇa* by *vicaraṇa* (rambling),[2] and seems to have explained *karaṇa* as meaning *karaṇa-vicitta* (artistic).[3] The Buddha must have judged these pictures as the finest specimens of pictorial art then known to him, and this one may easily infer from the following quotation :—

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[1] Paramatthajotikā, II, p. 421. Dhammapada-commentary, IV, pp. 226-228. Thera-Gāthā-commentary, CLXXXVIII. Psālms of the Brethren, p. 177.

[2] Paramatthajotikā, II, p. 345 : So kira Paribbājakassa putto Paribbājikāya kucchimhi jāto.

[3] Bhagavatī-Sūtra, XV. 1, Leaf 1204 : Maṃkhah citraphalaka-vyagrakaro bhikṣuka-viśeṣah.

[4] Bhagavatī-Sūtra, XV. 1, Leaf, 1204 : Maṃkha Kāṣṭha-citrāma dekhādato phirai ehavo bhikṣuka-viśeṣa (bhikṣācāra).

"Have you seen, O Bhikṣus, the painting called Caraṇa (or Karaṇa)?

"Even so, Lord."

"This very painting, O Bhikṣus, is thought out (conceived, imagined) by the object-thinking mind. The object-thinking mind is, O Bhikṣus, even more picturesque than the Caraṇa (or Karaṇa) class of painting."[4]

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[1] Bhagavatī-Sūtra, XV. 1, Leaf 1206 : jubbaṇa-gamaṇu-ppatte sayam eva pāḍiekkaṃ citta-phalagaṃ kārei, kāreittā citta-phalaga-hatthagae maṃkhattaṇeṇaṃ appāṇaṃ bhāvemāṇe viharai.

[2] Sārattha-Pakāsinī, Siamese Edition, II, p. 398 : Caraṇaṃ nāma cittan ti Vicaraṇa-cittaṃ.

[3] Atthasālini, p. 94.

[4] Saṃyutta-Nikāya, p. 151 :

"Diṭṭhaṃ vo Bhikkhave Caraṇaṃ (Karaṇaṃ) nāma cittanti? "Evaṃ Bhante."

"Tam pi kho Bhikkhave Caraṇaṃ (Karaṇaṃ) nāma cittaṃ citten'eva cintitaṃ. Tena pi kho Bhikkhave Caraṇena (Karaṇena) cittena cittaññeva cittataraṃ." The extract has been quoted in the Atthasâlinī, p. 64, and noticed for the first time in Barua's History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy, p. 100.

How is it that the object-thinking mind conceives the idea of painting (picture-drawing) and determines the means of materialising the painter's idea ?[1] Buddhaghoṣa answers this question as follows :—" There is nothing more picturesque in the world (of common experience) than painting. Wherein lies the explanation for the fact that the Caraṇa (or Karaṇa) class of painting is rendered so very picturesque? While working it out, this idea arises in the painters' mind : 'Such and such forms (pictures, figures) should here be made (designed, executed, embodied, actualised).' Sketching, colouring, brightening (polishing), giving permanency and the remaining processes of painting take their rise (get their start) from this conception in the mind. Therefrom a highly picturesque form (wonderful picture) presents itself in the class of painting called Caraṇa (or Karaṇa). Thereafter, thinking, 'Let this go above that figure, let that go below, let that stand on both sides,' the remaining details are worked out step by step, finishing off the execution of the picture according to thought. Similarly whatever wonderful product of art there is in this world, all that is executed, indeed, by the object-thinking mind."[2]

Nakha class of Brahmin sectaries.

In explaining why this class of painting is named Caraṇa or Rambling, Buddhaghoṣa says : " There are Brahmin sectaries whose general name is Nakha. They having a (movable or portable) picture-gallery made, roam about with it, exhibiting thereupon (apparently upon the outer faces of the four piece-boards serving as walls) the various kinds of representation of happy or woeful states of existence according to good or bad destinies, and causing the labels to be inscribed to the effect: 'Having done this deed, one attains to this state,' "Having done that, one attains to that state."[1] Analysing this, we can derive the following historical data:

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[1] Atthasālinī, p. 64 : Kathaṃ cittakaraṇatāya (cittanti) ?

[2] Atthasālinī, p. 64, Lokasmiṃ hi cittakammato uttariṃ aññaṃ cittaṃ nāma n'atthi. Kasmiṃ pi Caraṇaṃ (Karaṇaṃ) nāma cittaṃ aticittam eva hoti? Taṃ karontānaṃ citta-kāraṇam 'evaṃvidhāni ettha rūpāni kātabbānî' ti citta-saññā uppajjanti. Cittāya saññayā lekhāya gahaṇa-rañjana-ujjotana-vattanâdikā citta-kiriyā uppajjanti. Tato Caraṇa-saṅkhāte citte aññataraṃ vicitta-rūpaṃ nippajjati. Tato 'Imassa rūpassa upari idaṃ hotu, heṭṭhā idaṃ hotu, ubhayapasse idan'ti cintetvā yathā-cintitena kamena sesa-cittarūpa-nipphādanaṃ hoti. Evaṃ yaṃ kiñci loke vicittaṃ sippajātaṃ sabbaṃ taṃ citten'eva kariyati. *Cf.* translation of the extract in the Expositor, being a translation

(1) That these sectaries were Brahmins by caste and known by the name of Nakha;

(2) That they wandered about in the country, taking with them movable or portable picture-galleries with pictures drawn and exhibited thereupon;

(3) That they entertained as well as instructed the people with the aid of these pictorial representations;

(4) That they delineated the pictures of destinies after death, of happy or woeful states of existence in different celestial abodes or infernal regions, publicly demonstrating the Doctrine of Karma, promulgating the Theory of Rebirth and proving the existence of Paraloka or World-beyond;

(5) That they inscribed separate labels indexing contents of the depicted scenes;

(6) That painting was just one of the arts whereby they tried to inculcate their doctrines and secured support of the people;

(7) That their institution existed also in the time of Buddhaghoṣa;

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of the Atthasālinī by Pe Maung Tin, revised by Mrs. Rhys Davids. The significance of the passage is discussed for the first time in Barua's History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy, p. 110, discussed also by Miss Stella Kramrisch in the Introduction to the Viṣṇudharmottaram translated by her (only the chapters bearing upon Indian Painting), p. 5.

[1] Sāratthа-Pakāsinī, Siamese Edition, II, p. 398: Nakho nāma Brāhmaṇa-pāsaṇḍikā honti. Te pana koṭṭhakaṃ katvā tattha nānappakāre sugati- duggati-vasena sampatti-vipattiyolikhāpetvā, 'Idaṃ kammaṃ katvā idaṃ paṭilabhati', 'Idaṃ katvā idan'ti dassento taṃ cittaṃ gahetvā vicarati. First noticed in Barua's History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian

(8) That there can be no doubt that the Maṃkhas referred to in the Jaina Bhagavatī-Sūtra and its commentaries and the Nakha-Brāhmaṇa-pāsaṇḍikas referred to in Buddhaghoṣa's Sārattha-Pakāsinī were representatives of one and the same institution ;

(9) That here one may trace the origin and antiquity of the Indian folk-art, Paṭacitra, which, as a means of popular instruction, developed side by side with ballad-recitation and similar art of narration or story-telling. The subject-matters changed according to exigencies of time and according to needs of the teaching to be imparted[1] ; and

(10) That these pictures contained continuous representations of successive stages in the progress of a story in order to have a scenic effect.[2]

One of the legends in the Divyâvadāna[3] clearly shows how the bas-reliefs and frescoes replaced these earlier paintings in Buddhism. In order that all other Bhikṣus might become as great a leader and eloquent a preacher as Mahāmaudgalyâyana, the Buddha is said to have suggested : "The wheel of life with five divisions should be represented on the doorway (of the Veṇuvana monastery), showing the five destinies of men, namely, those typified by the infernal creatures, the brute, the departed spirits, the gods and the human beings. In the lowest division are to be shown the infernal creatures, the brute world

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Philosophy, p. 110. Discussed by Miss Stella Kramrisch in the Introduction to the Viṣṇudharmottaram translated by her, and also by Barua in his monograph—Books of Stories of Heaven and Hell, forming the appendix of B. C. Law's book—Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective.

[1] The Act I of the Uttara-Rāma-Carita shows that the subject of delineation was the incidents in the life of Rāma. The Rādhā-Kṛiṣṇa-story is the favourite subject with the Patuās or Pata-citrakaras of Bengal.

[2] In Act I of the Uttara-Rāma-Carita the pictures drawn by the painter named Arjuna are described as *vīthicitra*, *vīthi* meaning *śreṇī*, 'serial' or 'continuous.' "Arjunena citrakareṇa......caritam asyām vithyām abhilikhitam." *Vīthyām-citramaya-śreṇyām* (commentary by Vīrarāghava).

[3] Divyâvadāna, pp. 300-303.

and the departed spirits ; in the upper division the gods, men and the four continents (Pūrvavideha, Aparagodāniya, Uttarakuru and Jambudvīpa); in the middle parts Passion, Hatred and Delusion, Passion in the form of a pigeon,[1] Hatred in that of a serpent, Delusion in that of a boar, as well as the Buddha-image, the circle of Nirvāṇa, and the chance-born beings, the last as rising and falling in the form of the rope and bucket of a well ; while surrounding all is to be engraved the Buddhist Wheel of Life, divided into 12 segments and revolving forwards and backwards. The representations must set forth *concrete examples of the different ways and actions leading persons along these destinies.* The Wheel of Life must be accompanied by the inscription recording the two verses, urging—

> "Proceed, O man, come out, and flock
> to Buddha's standard,
> Shatter Death's legion, as elephant tramples
> house of reed, not hard."

Maṃkhas, Nakha-Brāhmaṇa-pāsaṇḍikas and Yamapaṭṭikas were representatives of one and the same institution.

The evidence of the Mudrā-Rākṣasa and the Harṣa-Charita goes to prove that the institution of the Maṃkhas or Nakha-Brāhmaṇa-pāsaṇḍikas survived in India till the reign of King Harṣa, that is, right up to 648 A.D., and that the latter-day representatives of their institution became known also as Yamapaṭṭikas, the "Inferno-show-men," the pictures classed in Buddhist literature as Caraṇa or Karaṇa becoming famous also under the name of Yamapaṭa or Yamapaṭṭa, the "Death-pictures," the "pictures of Hades." The description of the Yamapaṭṭikas or Yamapaṭṭakas given in the Mudrā-Rākṣasa or in the Harṣa-Carita clearly brings out the fact that the showing of the Death-pictures was accompanied by the singing of songs and dancing or dramatic acting, the themes of their songs having the same significance as the depicted scenes in their pictures. In Act I of the Mudrā-Rākṣasa, there is a scene of entry of a spy with a Yamapata, the spy employed by Cāṇakya. He is represented as moving about in a characteristic manner of acting and saying these words : "From the time I entered into this house, I have been singing this song, showing (the painted canvas with) the pictures of Hades."[1] He cleverly describes his business as a spy through the song, the stanzas of which are so worded as to refer to Yama as well as Cāṇakya. The first stanza of the song which is composed in Prakrit reads :

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[1] *Cf.* Barhut Jātaka-scene with the label Kaḍari-ki(narā). Here the female figure holds a pigeon in its left hand.

Paṇamaha Jamassa calaṇe,
kiṃ kajjaṃ devaehi aṇṇehiṃ ।
Eso khu aṇṇabhattāṇaṃ
harai jīaṁ caḍapaḍantaṃ ॥

The stanza in its Sanskrit rendering reads :

Praṇamāhi Yamasya caraṇe,
kiṃ kāryaṃ daivatair anyaiḥ ।
Eṣaḥ khalvanyabhaktānāṃ
harati jīvaṃ parisphuṭantam ॥

" Bow down, bow down, at the feet of Hades,
No use, no use, bowing to all,
To all, to all, to gods but Hades.
Know ye, know ye, O men of Hades,
He killeth, visibly killeth, the unrelenting god,
Devotees of gods other than Hades."

The Yamapaṭṭika of the Harṣa-Carita is not a spy. Here is the description of a real Inferno-show-man. The scene of action is a bazar-street where he is seen making a display of his art amid a great crowd of inquisitive children. In his left hand is a painted canvas stretched out on a support of upright rods and showing Yama, the lord of the dead, mounted on his dreadful buffalo. Wielding a reed-wand in his other hand, he is expounding the features of the next world, and chanting the following verse[1]:

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[1] Mudrā Rākṣasa, edited by K. T. Telang, p. 72 :
(Tataḥ praviśati Yamapaṭena caraḥ)—
Jāva edaṃ gehaṃ pavisia
Jamavaḍaṃ daṃsaanto gīāiṃ gāāmi (iti parikramati).

Mātā-pitṛ-ṣahasrāṇi, putra-dārā-śatāni ca ।
Yuge yuge vyatītāni, kasya te, kasya vā bhavān ?

" Mothers and fathers in thousands, in hundred children and wives
Age after age have passed away ; whose are they,
and whose art thou ?"

Modern specimens of Yamapaṭa and Caraṇacitra, and survivals of the institution of the Maṃkhas, Nakha-Brāhmaṇa-pāsaṇḍikas.

The institution of the Maṃkhas, Nakha-Brāhmaṇa-pāsaṇḍikas and Yamapaṭṭikas has survived in India till to-day, and has not completely died out as yet, though their art has degenerated and they are fast becoming *ignoramuses*. With regard to Yamapaṭa, Mr. Kipling observes: " One of the most popular of the pictures sold at fairs is a composition known as Dharmarāj, a name of Yama, the Hindu Pluto, and also broadly for justice. The judge is enthroned and demon executioners bring the dead to receive their doom. The river of death flows on one side of the picture and those go safely across who hold a cow by the tail, while others are torn by terrible fishes. Citragupta, the clerk or recording angel of Yama, considered to be the ancestor of the Kāyasth or clerkly caste, sits in an office with account-books exactly like those of a Hindu tradesman and according to the record of each soul, punishments or rewards are given. Dūts or executioners torture offenders, while the blest sail upwards in air-borne chariots."[2]

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[1] Harṣa-Carita, Nirṇaya Sāgara Press Edition, V, p. 153: Vipāṇi-vartmani kutūhalakula-bahala-bālaka-parivṛtam-ūrdha-yaṣṭi-viṣkambha-vitate vāmahasta-vartini bhīṣaṇa-mahiṣâdhirūḍha-pretanātha-sanāthe citravati paraloka-vyatikaraṃ itara-kara, kalitena śarakāṇḍena kathayantaṃ Yamapaṭṭikaṃ dadarśa. Tenaiva ca gāyamānaṃ ślokaṃ aśṛṇot. Translation by Cowell and Thomas, p. 136 of the Harṣa-Carita.

[2] Beast and Man in India, p. 123.

Significance of the designation Nakha-Brahmin householders and Parivrājakas followed the profession of Nakhas.

There seems to have been a very special reason for applying the designation Nakha to the Brahmin sectaries whose business it was to wander about showing the pictures labelled with inscriptions and depicting various destinies of men after death. They were called Nakhas because apart from being painters and picture-expounders, they were skull-tappers. In the latter capacity, it was their business to tap on skulls with their finger-nails to divine future destinies, to ascertain in the case of the dead and predict in the case of living persons. It will not be wrong to say that they were craniologists, phrenologists or cranio-eschatologists. The Brahmin or Brahmin Parivrājaka named Vaṅgisa (Vāgīśa) had been an expert skull-tapper before he joined the Buddhist order. It is said that while on growing to manhood he was studying the Three Vedas (Vedic treatises and systems), Vaṅgisa learnt the mystery of skulls (chava-sīsa-manta) from a teacher who was a specialist in this subject. He earned fame as a teacher who knew how to discover by tapping on skulls[1] where their former occupants were reborn. The Brahmins or Brahmin Parivrājakas saw in this a means of gain and hiding him in a covered vehicle toured about in villages, townships and royal capitals. When a large crowd gathered round the vehicle, they cried out, saying "He who sees Vaṅgisa, either acquires wealth or fame, or goes to heaven."[2] Thus they aroused curiosity in many a person to see him by offering them fees. In reply to the enquiries made by the kings and royal ministers as to the proficiency of Vaṅgisa, they said, "You do not know that in the whole of India, there is not another learned man like him. He having a skull brought to him, even a skull as old as one year, can ascertain by tapping on it in what class of beings its former occupant is reborn." As men were brought to him, Vaṅgisa tried to remove their doubts about his ability by divining their future destinies. And persuading the people to believe in him, he received fees of 100 and even 1,000 (kahāpaṇas).[1] If the story of the life of Vaṅgisa do not suffice to dispel our doubt as to whether he practised this art as a householder or he did so as a Parivrājaka, we have another story in the Theragāthā-commentary, the story of the life of Migasira (Mṛgaśira), in which it is distinctly stated that the art of divination of destinies by tapping on skulls was practised by Migasira both when he had remained in society and later when he walked out of it and turned a Wanderer.[2]

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[1] Chavasīsaṃ nakhen ākoṭetvā.

[2] In the Paramattha-Jotikā, II, p. 345, Vaṅgisa has been represented as a great leader and teacher who toured about in the country with a retinue of 5,000 men accompanying him as his followers.

Inference as to Gośāla being the son of a Brahmin father.

Thus it may be shown[3] that whether we rely upon the Jaina representation of Gośāla's father as a Maṃkhali-Maṃkha, or upon the presumed Ājīvika account representing Gośāla as the son of Gobahula, the rich and learned Brahmin, there is no getting away from the inference that his father was either a Brahmin in society or one in retirement. For we do not know as yet a single instance where a man other than one of the Brahmin caste adopted or has adopted the profession of a Maṃkha or Nakha.

Possibility of Gosāla's birth in a cow-pen.

Believing the Jaina story of Gośāla's parents to be true we find it easy to understand the possibility of his birth in a *gosālā* or cow-pen, as we are told in the Bhagavatī-Sūtra. We shall not be justified in adducing this fact as a proof of his unfitness to act as the founder of a school of thought or the leader of a religious sect. If it actually happened, it happened as a matter of accident. Jesus Christ who is worshipped by the millions of Christians as the greatest saviour was delivered in a stable just as a matter of accident. The Wanderer Sabhiya (Sabhya, Council-Hall-man) who is known to have been the son of a young Wanderer by a nobleman's daughter and who was noted for his Vedic learning and won the fame of a great dialectician, finding none to equal him, was delivered accidentally in a Sabhā or Council-Hall.[1]

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[1] *Cf.* Paramattha-Jotikā, II, p. 345, giving a somewhat different account: Manussā pi sudaṃ attano ñātīnaṃ kālakatānaṃ susānato sīsāni ānetvā tassa tesaṃ gatiṃ pucchanti'

[2] Manoratha-Pūraṇī, P. T. S. Edition, I, p. 267; Paramattha-Jotikā, II; Psalms of the Brethren, p. 395. Dhammapada-Commentary, IV, pp. 226-228.

[3] Psalms of the Brethren, p. 138.

Possibility of Gośāla's career as a Maṃkha.

Even denying the truth of the Jaina representation of Gośāla's father as a Maṃkha by profession, it is not difficult to understand the possibility of Gośāla's career as a Maṃkha, provided that one grants he became a Maskarī or Parivrājaka who reached up the Parama-śukla or Avadhūta stage. Having regard to the Avadhūta-stage, we read in the Avadhūta-Upaniṣad that a Parivrājaka attaining to this stage, becomes 'mahāmakha mahāyoga,' 'a great yoga-practitioner, whose actions are all peculiar, picturesque, amazing or artistic.'[2] That is to say, a 'mahāmakha mahāyoga' is a great 'citrakara,' 'picture-maker' or 'artist.' There can be little doubt that 'maṃkha' is the same word as 'makha,' which ordinarily means 'yajña'.

Is it that Gosāla was just a Prakrit equivalent of Sk. Kausalya?

Is it at all necessary, we ask, to treat Gośāla as a personal name and to account for its origin by a theory of birth in a Gosālā? May it not be that we do not know what the personal name of the Ājīvika Tīrthaṅkara was? Is it impossible that Makkhali-Gosāla was just a Prakrit form of the Sk. Maskarī-Kauśalya, meaning the Maskarī or Bamboo-staff-ascetic of Kośala, an ancient expression which is analogous to a modern expression like 'Kāśikā lāṭhiyā Bābā,' the 'Staff-man Father of Kāśi'? As we have in Pāli two epithets, Kosala and Kosalaka denoting a man of Kosala, so we have in ardha-Māgadhī two epithets Kosala and Kosalaga, both of which are derived from the name of the Kośala country. It is somewhat strange that in Jaina literature, Kosalaga occurs also as a form of the name of the Kosala country. Kauśalya in the sense of a man of Kośala has been used in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa as an epithet of King Hiraṇyanābha,[1] and in the Praśna-Upaniṣad, as an epithet of the Brahmin teacher Aśvalāyana[2] precisely as in Pāli records, Kosala has been used as an epithet of King Pasenadi, and as an epithet of an ancient Ṛṣi who finds place in the Isigili-Sutta list of Pacceka-Buddhas. In the Dhammacetiya-Sutta, King Pasenadi describes himself and the Buddha as Kosalakas. The exact Pāli or ardha-Māgadhī form of the Sk. Kauśalya would be Kosalla. It is easy to understand the process of phonetic change of Kauśalya into Kosāla through Kosalla, *e.g.*, Sk. *paśyati* = Pāli *passati* = ardha-Māgadhī *pāsati*. Even the phonetic change of Kosala into Kosāla can be explained by the peculiarity of pronunciation, *e.g.*, Sk. *gṛahapati* = Pāli *gahapati* = ardha-Māgadhī *gāhāvai*. The change of the initial *k* sound into *g* is not uncommon in Indo-European languages, *e.g.*, Sk. *go* = English *cow*, *Koṭiputa* = *Gotiputa* in the Relic-casket records found in Bhilsa Topes. Curiously enough, Gosāla or Gosālaga occurs in Jaina literature as the name of the Ājīvika teacher, and no less as the name of a country.[3]

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[1] Paramattha-Jotikā, II, p. 421; Psalms of the Brethren, p. 177: "Sabhāyaṃ vijāyi, ten' assa Sabhiyo tveva nāmam akāsi.

[2] Avadhūta-Upaniṣad, 6: Sa mahāmakho mahāyogo, kṛtsnam etac citraṃ karma,

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Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa, XIII, 5. 4. 4.

[2] Praśna-Upaniṣad, I, VI. 1.

[3] Sheth's Pāia-Sadda-Mahaṇṇava.

CALCUTTA STUDENT LIFE FIFTY YEARS AGO

Students' messes in Calcutta in my college days, forty-five years ago, were like small republics, and were managed on strictly democratic lines. Everything was decided by the voice of the majority of the members of the mess. At the end of every month, a Manager was elected by the whole " House " so to say, and he was charged with the collection of the dues of the members and the general supervision of the food and establishment of the mess. Generally an estimate of the probable expenses of the messing and other charges was made, and the Manager was voted this amount for carrying on his duties. If the actual fell below this estimate, the Manager on the last day of his office, arranged for a big feast on which he spent all his savings ; if his expenses for the month exceeded the estimates, the deficit was, of course, met by the members, but the Manager had to face the unkind criticism of his executive abilities by his colleagues and in extreme cases, which were, however, rather rare, even their frank censure. The successful Manager was frequently begged to accept re-election ; while the more careless and lazy members, who had often to pay out of their own pockets for their mismanagement tried to avoid this election.

But not merely in these financial matters, but almost in every thing that concerned the common life of the mess, the members had a supreme voice. If a seat was vacant applicacations for it came before the whole House, and no one was admitted into the mess unless he was known or certified by responsible people, to be a decent and respectable fellow. Strict discipline was maintained by the opinion of his own peers, over every young man who belonged to a mess. Disputes between one member and another were settled by a Court of the whole House ; and we sat up night after night, I remember, in examining these cases ; and never was the decision of this

Court questioned or disobeyed by any member. Nor were the members of the mess at all helpless in the matter of duly enforcing their verdict upon any member. For they could always threaten the recalcitrant member either with expulsion from the mess, or if he refused to go, with the entire responsibility of the rent of it being thrown on him. And this had a powerful appeal to the good sense of the offending member who always submitted to the verdict of his peers on all matters.

We were by no means prurient purists in our youthful days. The Calcutta Theatres which had just introduced female artistes in our stage, were very largely patronised by us. At home we gave ourselves up often times to all sorts of amusements with an abandon, that would shock the Puritans of our community. During our leisure moments we sang, we danced, we indulged in all sorts of satire and mimicry, all of which were by no means kept within the confines of what is called delicacy or decency in certain circles. But for all that, a real pure moral atmosphere pervaded our life in these messes. No manner of vice was tolerated ; and the least suspicion of loose morals in a member would make him liable to very serious displeasure of his friends and in extreme cases to expulsion from the mess. And such was the force of public opinion in these small " Republics " that I have known of cases of this punishment on offending members, which so worked upon them, that after a week of their expulsion from a mess, they looked as if they had just come out of some prolonged and serious spell of sickness !

We made from time to time Laws and Regulations for the proper administration of our little republics. I remember that a few months after I came to Calcutta, a set of laws were framed for the conduct of the member of our mess. We were a rather mixed lot. Some were orthodox Hindus, though their orthodoxy did not go so far as to prohibit association, or even interdining provided the food was cooked by Brahmins, with those who did not observe the rules of caste. Others were absolutely heterodox, and openly violated all the rules of Hinduism in regard to eating and drinking. One or two were honest and professed Brahmos. Babu Nabin Chandra Sarma, who was the oldest member of our little republic, and as the most advanced University student among us who was held in sincere respect by every one, though not quite orthodox in his opinions, was yet exceedingly scrupulous in the matter of his ways of life. He used to frankly tell us that personally he had absolutely no objection to take cooked food out of a non-Brahmin's hands; but he did not like to get cut off from his family on the one hand, nor to tell lies about his ways and habits, when questioned by his people. So he thought the most honourable thing to do was to avoid everything that might create trouble or force him to a denial. He would not, therefore, take cooked rice out of the hands of us Kayestas or Vaidyas, but had no objection to our cooking curries and *dals* and other things for him. And the reason why he made this distinction, he would frankly tell us, was that no body would ever ask him if he took curries or *dals* cooked by non-Brahmins, the only question, if ever any were raised, would be, if he had taken "Bhat" or cooked rice out of their hands. The Bengalee idiom never used curries or *dals* as the name for cooked food, but "Bhat" or cooked rice was the only term used in this context.

The composition of our mess, called for some sort of a compromise between the so called orthodox and the Brahmo and other heterodox members of our republic. So a rule was passed by the unanimous vote of the whole House, that no member shall bring any food into the house (except of course loaves and biscuits, that had commenced to be tolerated by the orthodoxy of the Metropolis) which outraged the feelings of Hindu orthodoxy. It was, however, clearly understood that the members of the mess as a body or even individually would not interfere with what any one took outside the house. So we were free to go and have all sorts of forbidden food either at the Great Eastern Hotel, which some of us commenced to occasionally patronise later on, or anywhere else.

This law put us sometimes to very great incovenience. One such incident has lived in my mind all these years. We had left Nimoo Khansama's Lane, and had taken a house in Madan Baral's Lane, off Wellington Street, at this time. One day our Brahmin cook was absent; and there was no dinner at home. So Sundari Mohan and myself, we two went out in search of food to Bowbazar, where we had seen cooked meat and crabs and prawns and hot flour-cakes, fried in ghee or butter, called "poories" in Northern India and "loochies" in our own vernacular, put out for sale. We went to one of these shops and having bought a good quantity of curried mutton, and *poories* or *loochies*, asked the shop-keeper if there was any room where his customers could have their meals. He showed us a door leading to a hall where we could safely enjoy our meal. So we eagerly went in, and found a table, a few chairs in that hall which was lighted rather dimly by a kerosine lamp hanging from the ceiling. The place was by no means inviting, but we made ready to use it gladly on the principle of any port in storm; because though our own house was very close to this place, the laws of our republic forbade the introduction of any cooked food into it from the outside. We had just set our things down on the bare table and were going to sit down to our dinner, when there entered a stranger with rather unsteady steps, and a blue bottle peeping out of his armpit. This gave us such a fright that we really did not know what to do. The new comer noticed our nervousness and in a very kindly way, but with a broken voice, stammered out : "What is there to be ashamed of, my friends? I have come for the same object as yourselves." And as with these words he brought out a small glass from his pocket and set the bottle from his armpit on the table, we gathered up our precious food and ran out of the room like thieves, trembling all over. Coming out into the street, we commenced to cast about for some place where we might go and sit and have our dinner. There was a small platform, just opposite the small lane which led to our house, in front of a neighbour's residence, which was never used by the inmates of that house, but where the Municipal officers, whose rank had better not be disclosed, used to rest early in the morning, and which had rather unappetising associations about it. In our extremity, we went to this place and finished the *poories* and curries standing there in the dim light of the lamp that lighted our lane. And as soon as the prohibited things had passed out of our hands into our gullets, we ran to our house and there gulped the food down with the water from the house-tap!

I had my first truly forbidden food in the house of a friend, a class-mate of Sundari Mohan, and a very near relation of a leading lawyer of the city, a well-known and wealthy member of the Calcutta Kayestha community. He invited Sundari Mohan, Tara Kishore Chaudhuri, who also came from our district and was a messmate of ours, and one or two others and myself to dinner at his house which was not very far from our mess. It was here that both Tara Kishore Chaudhuri and myself had chicken curry for the first time in our life. And the incident is specially remembered by me, because early next morning, Tara Kishore came out of bed and standing in the morning light, stretched out his arms and commenced to examine what strength and flesh he had gained through the forbidden meat taken over-night! Tara Kishore Chaudhuri rose to considerable eminence in the Calcutta High Court Bar. A few years ago he gave up a very profitable practice and retired to Brindaban, where he has since been elected to be the head of an important temple, with the title of Braja-Bidehi, the highest spiritual recognition that one can get among the Vaishnavas of Sree Brindaban, reputed to be the scene of the life and *leela* or sport of Sree Krishna, in the Hindu legends.

Talking of Tara Kishore Chaudhuri, I am reminded of another anecdote of his student life in Calcutta, which found us considerable fun for many days. There was illness in our mess. I think Sundari Mohan was ill, and the doctor prescribed chicken soup for him. Tara Kishore Chaudhuri was sent for it to the Great Eastern Hotel. When asked if he had brought any vessel to carry the soup in, he innocently took out a copy of the "Statesman" newspaper that he had with him, and asked the man who came out to serve him, to put the soup in it!

The story of my first lunch at "Wilson's," as the Great Eastern Hotel was called in those days, also deserves recording. It was typical of our educated classes in those days (1875-76). Sundari Mohan, myself, and three or four others went to have our " tiffin " in this place. We had a private room to ourselves. But none of us had any experience of European food, and our first difficulty, when the menu was placed before us, was how to make our selection. We avoided this by leaving it to the Mahomedan Khansama to get us the very best there was in the Hotel. None of us had any practice in handling knives and forks. That was our next difficulty. And we tried to solve it, by just trying to play with these as long as the waiter was present, but sending him out on all sorts of errands, we commenced to attack the victuals on our plate vigorously with hand and teeth. It was a very miserable experience after all. We did not like to hurt our dignity by honestly eating with our hands the things that we had to pay for so much; nor could we really eat in the unfamiliar way the Europeans do. That experience was so unpleasant that as long as I was a student, and not until I had become absolutely familiar with these foreign ways, I never again crossed the threshold of the Great Eastern or any other hotels in India. The story of our first fight with knives and forks and spoons used to be frequently repeated among our friends in those days to their intense merriment.

These students' messes were, naturally, only of mafassil young men reading in the University. They were generally grouped according to the districts from which they came. We had, thus, a Tippera mess ; a Jessore mess ; a Barisal mess ; and a Sylhet mess. Dacca had more than one mess, there was the Bikrampur mess, and if I do not forget, another, the Manikganj mess. Of these somehow the Bikrampur, the Tippera and the Sylhet messes were most prominent in all kinds of public activities of those days, among the student population of the Metropolis. Towards the close of my life in the University, 33 Musalmanpara (Lane) the Bikrampur mess; 28 Mechuabazar (Street) the Tippera mess ; and 14, College Street ; these became something like prominent landmarks in the life of the East Bengal students in Calcutta. 33 Musalmanpara came to receive the highest distinction because of its association first with some of the most brilliant students of the University, and next for its liberal, social and religious views. Babu Ananda Mohan Bose, who subsequently went to Cambridge and was the first Indian "Wrangler," passed his M.A. Examination and Roychand Premchand Studentship, which carried a prize of 10,000 rupees in those days, while he was an inmate of this mess. Babu Rajani Nath Roy, who subsequently rose to the position of Deputy Accountant-General, was also a member of this mess, and his success in the University examinations, in most of which he topped the list of successful students, shed considerable distinction on it. Babu Shasi Bhusan Datta was another brilliant student of the Calcutta University, who, too, took his degrees while he was a member of this mess. Dr. Prasanna Kumar Roy, Babu Sree Nath Datta, Sir Krishna Gobinda Gupta, all of them distinguished students of the University, had intimate associations with the mess at 33 Musalmanpara. And their name and fame secured for it the distinction of being the premier students' mess in Calcutta in time. 33 Musalmanpara was also a very prominent centre of the social and religious revolt associated with Keshub Chandra Sen and his Brahmo Samaj of India. in the seventies of the last century. It was from this mess that Ananda Mohan

Bose, Prasanna Kumar Roy, Sree Nath Datta, Rajani Nath Roy, and Aghor Nath Chattopadhyaya, went to be publicly initiated into Brahmoism by Keshub Chandra Sen, a few days previous to his departure for England in 1871. Babu Dwarka Nath Gangooly, the pioneer of liberal female education in Bengal, and the editor of "Abala-Bandhab" or the "Friend of the Weaker Sex," who was later the Assistant Secretary of the Indian Association, also lived during his first years in Calcutta, in 33 Musalmanpara Lane. It turned out a larger number of distinguished graduates, many of whom made their mark in the public life of their Province, and some, indeed, in that of whole India, than any other students-mess of our time. 33 Musalmanpara became thus almost a sign and symbol of culture and progress in our community in those days. The Tippera Mess at 28 Mechuabazar Street, and the Sylhet Mess at 14 College Street, came to considerable prominence after 1874, and particularly after the great schism in the Brahmo Samaj, due to the marriage of the eldest daughter of Keshub Chandra Sen to the minor Maharaja of Cooch-Behar, on account of the intimate association of some of us with the new Brahmo movement under Siva Nath Sastri.

Presidency College, Calcutta : 1875-76.

Presidency College was the premier college affiliated to the Calcutta University, in my time. There were also a few "private" that is, non-Government, Colleges in the city. Three of these, the General Assembly's Institution, situate in Cornwallis Square or Hedua as it was and is still known among our people ; the Free Church Institution, which was situate in Nimtolla Street, called also Duff College, having been established by Dr. Duff ; and the Cathedral Mission College, which stood in Mirzapur Street, and occupied by the building that still stands on the south-eastern corner of College Square, and is occupied by the Calcutta Corporation as a District Office ;—belonged to Protestant Christian Missions ; the first two, as their name indicated, belonged to the Free Church of Scotland, and the third to the Church of England

Mission. Then, there was the St. Xavier's College, owned and conducted by the Jesuit Fathers. Doveton and La Martinere were meant exclusively for European boys, and as a rule, no Bengalee was admitted to these institutions; though I think, young Surendra Nath had his early education, preparatory to his going to England for the Indian Civil Service, in the former college, from which he passed his B.A. Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar had established the Metropolitan Institution a few years before I came to Calcutta; and this was the only college affiliated to the Calcutta University which was owned and managed by private individuals. When Sir George Campbell opened his campaign against higher English education and laid down the policy of gradually withdrawing from the field of this education on the plea of releasing the funds of the State available for the promotion of education among the people, from collegiate education which benefited only a small section of the community, with a view to its employment in the cause of mass education; the opening of the Metropolitan Institution showed the way in which this new menace to higher education in the Province might be fought and removed. Pandit Vidyasagar was not a very rich man. But he did not seek public help in this new educational venture. He had no faith in corporate action so far as his people were concerned. So he dedicated whatever he owned to the cause of higher English education, and practically staked his fortune and his high position upon this enterprise. The fees charged in his Metropolitan Institution were much lower than those of the Presidency College, and these were even less than what was charged by the Missionary colleges. Poor students were helped with freeships, and half-freeships as their condition justified. When I came to Calcutta, the Metropolitan Institution had already secured a high place among the Calcutta Colleges. Tara Kishore Chaudhuri who took a high position in Entrance Examination from my school in Sylhet in my year (1874), and had got a scholarship of rupees fifteen a month, went and joined the Metropolitan

Institution; though I took my admission in the more expensive Presidency College.

Mr. Sutcliffe was the Principal of the Presidency College at that time. In the early years of our University, the Principal of the Presidency College was, almost ex-officio, the Registrar of the Calcutta University. The most brilliant students in the Province, therefore, sought admission in this College if their means allowed it. Mr. Sutcliffe's dual position as Principal and University Registrar, offered certain advantages to the students of the Presidency College which students of the other colleges did not enjoy. Students who passed with distinction from the Presidency College, owing to Mr. Sutcliffe's dual position, stood much greater chance of securing superior appointments under the Government, than their brethren from the other colleges. Though the institution of especial examinations for selecting candidates for the Subordinate Executive Service, under the administration of Sir George Campbell, somewhat restricted the field of Mr. Sutcliffe's patronage, there were other appointments, notably in the newly organised Financial Department, that were practically in his gift. All these offered great temptations to ambitious young men to prefer the Presidency College to others. Though I had no such definite ambitions, and was really not at all likely to succeed even if I had any, because I had passed the Entrance Examination in the Third Division, and was exceedingly ill-equipped for successful competition with the most brilliant students of the University who flocked to this Colleges, as a scholarship-holder I fancied it would be profitable and convenient for me to join it. So, at the beginning of 1875 I found myself in this College.

Mr. Tawney, who after his retirement, from the Bengal Education Service was for many years in charge of the India Office Library in London, was the senior Professor of English in the Presidency College at that time. But he was in charge of the B.A. and M.A. classes. Mr. Bellet and Mr. Hand, an

Indo-European gentleman, and Babu Pyaricharan Sircar, were Assistant Professors of English. They were in charge of the Intermediate classes. Mr. Bellet had the typical Anglo-Saxon features. He was a rather short man, with a red face. He had, however, the reputation of being a good English scholar, and his teaching was very popular among the students. But he had a rather short temper, which brought some trouble to us all when I was reading in the First Year Class. He had abused some students of the Second Year Class, and had indeed, gone so far as to order one of them to stand up, like a school boy. This gave very serious offence to the whole class. The next day, the Second Year students refused to attend his class. There was great uproar, towards the last period ; and almost all the students came out and stood at the foot of the stairs, in an ugly angry mood. Mr. Bellet finding the situation rather more serious than what he had thought it was ever likely to be, took shelter in the Professors' Common Room, on one of the upper floors, and waited there for the College to be dismissed and the boys to go to their messes or homes. But he was disappointed. The College was dismissed at the usual hour, but the boys of the First and Second Year Classes,—and they were a large number, refused to disperse but waited in angry groups at the portico and the southern verandah through which the offending Professor would have to pass out. After about an hour and a half's waiting, Mr. Bellet came down the stairs with another English Professor, who was, I think, Mr. Parry, who taught us Logic. As soon as Mr. Bellet stept down to the verandah, he was struck on the head, by an umbrella by one of his enemies. His hat went rolling out into the portico, but his head was safe and sound. He tried to catch the youth who struck him, but as the whole body gathered at the foot of the stairs went to the help of this young man, he had to give up the pursuit as risky and hopeless. Here the matter ended for that day. Mr. Sutcliffe took up the enquiry next morning ; called a few students of the Second Year Class, to have the whole story from them. He was a very tactful person, and took an almost fatherly interest in the young men of his College. Though he did not openly show it, we all knew and understood it, that the sympathies of the Principal were entirely with the boys ; and it was even believed that he did not conceal from Mr. Bellet his view of the indiscretion that he had been guilty of, in dealing with grown up University students as if they were mere school boys. One young man, however, who struck Mr. Bellet, was punished with rustication, and the matter was allowed to rest here.

Mr. Sutcliffe was, indeed, exceedingly jealous of the prestige of his College and the honour of his boys. I heard it that once one of his students got involved in a police case of some sort and the police officer in charge of the investigation went to his College to identify the youth and investigate into the complaint. As soon as information of the presence of the police in his premises reached Mr. Sutcliffe, he came out and ordered the police men off, declaring that he was the sole authority within the walls of his College, and neither policeman nor magistrate had any right to come there without his permission. This permission he sternly refused in the present case, and the officer was sent about his business, without getting any opportunity of holding any enquiry into the case in the college, and as the matter was evidently not very serious, the whole case was discreetly dropped. All this was in full consonance with the traditions of the British Universities where Mr. Sutcliffe had been brought up ; and even the Government dared not question the authority of the Principal in a matter of this kind. The prevailing idea in my young days among British officers of our Government Education Department, was to build up our colleges and universities after the model of the British universities, and hence they were always exceedingly jealous of their independence in all matters affecting the training and discipline of the youths committed to their charge.

Mr. Bellet and Babu Pyari Charan Sircar were my English Professors in the Presidency College. Mr. Hand taught us History. And, oh, the history that we read! Taylor's "Ancient History" was our text-book. The first-half of it was full of the so-called history of the Jews, collated from Old Testament legend. The discoveries of modern scholars regarding the history of the Semitic peoples, were then beyond the boldest imagination of the most diligent and imaginative historians of the ancient world. Taylor, if placed in the hands of our sons, would be thrown away as dry incredible fancies dressed up as history! We were, however, on firmer and much pleasanter ground when reading the history of ancient Greece and Rome. I have no recollection of the abilities or methods of Mr. Hand. He stands out in my mind only as a quiet and inoffensive gentleman, who always was kind to us. Mr. Sutcliffe, the Principal, taught us Mathematics. He knew every scholarship-holder by his name and face; and we had to be particularly diligent, or at least appear to be so, during his period; as otherwise, we ran the risk of being called to his room, and we knew what that meant. Not that he was ever harsh or rude, but still we stood in fear of being called to see him in private. It always meant some admonition. Mr. Bellet was a very good teacher; and on the whole, a good man. But he was exceedingly reserved. He came to the class just as the hour struck, and without saying a word or casting a glance about him, he would open his book and start his lecture. And though he rarely called for the register, very few students wanted to be absent from his class, so well did every one like his way of teaching. Pandit Neelmani Mukhopadhyaya, who subsequently became a Mahamahopadhyaya, was one of our Sanskrit Professors. He was a very strict disciplinarian, and used every day to call for the register to see which of the boys were present and who were playing the truant. But he was a very able teacher all the same, and we liked him for it. The other Sanskrit Professor was Pandit Raj Krishna Banerjee, who was a very great friend of Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar. He was a very genial sort of person: and indulged in all sorts of witticisms during his lectures.

But the one man, who had the greatest influence over my forming mind and character was Babu Pyari Charan Sircar, who was Assistant Professor of English in the Presidency College during the early part of my first year there. He had a magnetic personality. I cannot say how his personality affected my fellow students, but it exerted very great influence on me. He was a man of few words; and I do not remember to have exchanged even half-a-dozen words with him during the five or six months that he taught us. But these few words were so gentle, and his whole being seemed to breathe such a sweet gentleness and sympathy for every body, that when he died after a brief spell of illness, I felt that I had lost an old and personal friend or dear relation. That was the first time in my life when the death of one who was not connected with me by blood or marriage or long association, touched me so deeply and drew out tears from my eyes. I had, though in a much lesser degree, the same sense of personal loss, when, years after, the news of Mr. Sutcliffe's death reached us from England. But I had closer acquaintance with him than I had the good fortune of having with Babu Pyari Charan Sircar.

Pyari Charan Sircar.

Babu Pyari Charan Sircar belonged almost to the first generation of English-educated Bengalees. He was about sixty at the time of his death in 1875. The Hindu College, which first offered opportunities of systematic education in English language and literature and modern sciences and European histories and humanities, was established in 1820, when Pyari Charan must have been a boy of three or four years. He was a pre-University man, and had passed what was known as the Senior Scholarship Examination with great distinction. Though he might have easily become a Deputy Magistrate, he chose the humbler but more sacred and responsible vocation of the school master; and dedicated all his culture and intelligence to the promotion of this new education among his people. His school primers, called the "First Book of Reading," the "Second Book of Reading," the "Third Book of Reading" and the "Fourth Book of Reading," were the most approved text-books in my school days; though I myself, I do not know why, had "Murray's English Spelling Book," placed in my hands at the Missionary School at Sylhet, in preference to Sircar's primer. But Pyari Charan was not only an ardent educationist, but a very enthusiastic social reformer also, though of the more conservative school. It is said that he spent as much as nearly 70,000 rupees, practically the entire saving of the lifetime of a poor school master and author, in promoting the cause of Widow-Remarriage among higher caste Hindus, to which his friend Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar had consecrated his life. He was a very enthusiastic advocate of female education; and established a Girls' School at Chorebagan, the part of the city of Calcutta where he lived and which contained his parental homestead, and maintained it at his own expense. This school was continued after Babu Pyari Charan's death, by his cousin, Dr. Bhuban Mohan Sircar, who was a well-known citizen of the Metropolis and a prominent member of the Calcutta Corporation up to the closing years of the last century. But Pyari Charan stood apart from the earlier generations of his English-educated countrymen, in his complete freedom from the drink habit that worked such havoc in their life. He was in my young days the leader of a movement against this drink evil, to which young Bengal had taken with as much avidity as they took to the study of Shakespeare and Milton. His advocacy of total abstinence found expression even through popular Bengalee songs one of which was current in and about Calcutta fifty years ago, and used to be sung by the masses. It declared—Don't drink wines or spirits: Pyari Chand has asked you not to. The inside which is used only to pulses and vegetables, if it runs to excess in the matter of strong drinks, will not take you long to reach the home of Pluto. It was a comic song, supposed to be composed by one who was addicted to the hemp-drug ; and so the last line declared that though it is dangerous to go by waters (*i.e.*, indulge in drink) there was no prohibition against travelling by land (*i.e.*, smoking hemp or ganja).

A typical anecdote revealing the personality of the man has come to my knowledge recently and may very profitably be recorded here. Dr. Ganga Prasad Mookerjee, the well-known physician of Bhowanipur, father of Justice Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, was a pupil of Pyari Charan Sircar while at school. Ganga Prasad had to pursue his studies under very great difficulties. His parents were not sufficiently well-off to be able to pay for the expenses of his education. When Ganga Prasad was sent up for the Entrance Examination, he had not the wherewithal to pay his examination fees. He asked his elder brother who was living in their village home for these. He disposed of some of the household utensils to procure the amount and sent it to him. Unfortunately, poor Ganga Prasad lost the solitary ten-rupee note, and did not know what to do. A friend suggested that he might approach Dr. Duff, who was known to help indigent boys in such matters ; and Ganga Prasad went and saw him. Dr. Duff was very much impressed with the honest and intelligent look of the young man and readily agreed to meet his want, but asked him to get a note from his head master. Ganga Prasad next came to Babu Pyari Charan and told him everything. Pyari Babu felt hurt at the fact that Ganga Prasad had never told him of all this before. "Could'nt I find rupees ten for you, Ganga Prasad, that you had to go to Dr. Duff for it ? But since you had been to him, I cannot deprive him of the pleasure of helping you now ; but please whenever you are in difficulties in future, do not hesitate to come to me."

Over two hundred boys, I think, came and joined the Presidency College in my year ; and so we had two sections in the First Year Class. Among my class-mates here were Bhut Nath Chatterjee, who had stood first in the University Entrance Examination in 1874. Bhut Nath went to the Engineering College, which was then a part of the Presidency Collge, and was located in the same building in College Street, after passing his First Examination in Arts. He entered Government service and is now enjoying a well-earned pension. Amulya Charan Basu who stood second was also a class-mate of mine in the Presidency College. He took his Law Degree and joined the Bar, but his health gave way and he has been living practically in retirement. Krishna Lal Datta, who after taking his M.A. degree found employment in the Financial Department, rose to the distinguished position of Accountant General and was a trusted officer in that Department. Pankaj Kumar Chatterje, rose to be a District and Sessions Judge. Parvati Nath Datta secured a Gilchrist Scholarship, went to England, took his B. Sc. degree in London, and got a post in the Geological Survey of India. Babu Bhupendra Nath Basu though of the same year, was not in our section. Babu Heramba Chandra Maitra, Principal, City College, was also in that section.

I do not know how things are now, but in my young days, students in the Calcutta Colleges who came from East Bengal Districts, and particularly in the Presidency College which was patronised by the sons of the Calcutta aristocracy, had a rather bad time of it, especially if they were very sensitive. Their local *patoi* was the object of open ridicule by their more refined Metropolitan fellow students. Many of these mafassil boys were very shy and of a far more serious mood than the Calcutta boys ; and they failed oftentimes to freely mix with the latter or throw themselves into the playfulness of their Calcutta friends. The Calcutta boys made fun of their profesors, behind their back. Some of them, including the very best indeed, wrote horrid satires on their teachers, and others, instead of listening to their lectures, drew caricatures of them on their exercise book. Ganga Govinda Gupta, a younger brother of Sir Krishna Govinda Gupta, was especially distinguished in this art and he had quite a collection of these caricatures in his exercise book. All these things seemed to hurt the more serious minded East Bengal boys, and stood somewhat in the way of their freely mixing with the Metropolitan boys. But there were, of course, exceptions. Ganga Govinda was himself one, for he too was a "Bangal" as his native District was Dacca. So was Krishna Lal, who came from Jessore. But generally the East Bengâl or "Bangal" boys found it rather hard to put up with the ridicule of the Calcutta boys. Dacca boys were too proud of their own District and of their old traditions as one-time capital of Bengal, to accomodate themselves to the new conditions ; so while we Sylhet boys put forth strenuous efforts to give up our local *patois* as soon as we came to Calcutta, and learn the idiom and intonations of the Metropolis, our Dacca friends kept up the habit of talking in their District *patois* as a matter of parochial pride and patriotism ; and this tended to keep them away somewhat from the general life of the Calcutta students. This was, however, helpful to them, because they were able owing to this aloofness, to devote themselves with greater diligence to their studies and thereby to oftentimes beat their rivals belonging to the Metropolis, in the University Examinations. As these students from East Bengal had fewer interests outside their studies, they were looked down upon by the Calcutta boys as "book worms."

BIPINCHANDRA PAL

STATE *VERSUS* COMPANY MANAGEMENT OF RAILWAYS

Railways made their first appearance in this world in Great Britain. They were the outcome of private enterprise. There was a great deal of opposition from landlords, canal companies and others against building of railways in that country. The passing of railway bills through both houses of parliament and the acquisition of land for railway purposes were no easy matters; and large sums of money had to be spent in these connections. The public opinion in regard to creation of railways was divided, and there was no help from the Government either financially or in the matter of grant of land for railway purposes. Naturally, therefore, Railways were made by private capitalists, who yet remain the owners and managers of British railways. But mainly on the ground that the Railway Companies were given monopolistic rights over the roads they built, regulations were made from time to time in order to bring the railways under public control, exercised through the Board of Trade and Railway Commissions (and now by the ministry of transport as well), with a view to secure to the public those rights, which they could reasonably demand of railways as public carriers. During the past quarter of a century, there have been agitations from time to time with a view to railways being turned from Company lines into State lines, but, so far, these endeavours have failed in Great Britain. Railways on the continent of Europe were in some cases built by the Government, or with the aid of the Government, and in other cases by companies, which were in some instances originally financed by foreign capitalists. And the main reasons for acquisition of such company-owned railways by the Government (for example, Railways of Belgium or of Switzerland) were that the people of such countries felt that as the control of foreign companies (owing and managing the railways) extended beyond the Railways, *viz.*, to trade and industries, this was not beneficial to the economic development of those countries.

In U.S.A., the Railways were the outcome of private enterprise, and their Railroads, which are equal in their length of mileage to the Railway mileage of the rest of the world, are the finest examples of what private enterprise can do for a nation in providing works of great public utility, although such works might be created and run mainly for the purpose of earning dividends for the investors.

In Germany, many years before the war, the Railways were owned by the Government and worked by the managements, which were strictly those of the Government. They were a great asset to the finances of the old Government in Germany and were worked for developing Germany's trade and industries. Whatever was the fiscal policy of the Government was also the rates policy of the railways, which favoured German industries, German exports and did everything to further the trade and industries of Germany, irrespective of what the financial results might be to railways themselves.

So far as the British colonies and dependencies are concerned, the railways of South Africa and East Africa, of Australia and of Newzealand are state lines, owned and managed by the state ; Canada had both company-owned and state-owned railways, and to-day there is the "Canadian Pacific Railway," which like the railways of U.S.A. is company-owned and company-managed, but there are also the Canadian National Railways which are run on commercial lines by the state.

No railway question has been so much discussed in every country during the past 25 years as the question as to whether company management or state management is the best in the interests of a country.

In no country state management or company management of railways has been determined upon, from the point of view of efficiency of one or the other but, truly speaking, each country has state or company-managed railways due to the circumstances peculiar to that country. Where private enterprise was able to finance railways independently of the Government, and when there were prospects of a fair return as dividends on the capital outlay, private enterprise was not slow in putting up money to build railways. In cases where such private enterprise, or rather the capitalists, were indigenous to the country they continued to be the owners and managers of the Railways. In those countries where the companies, who made railways, were foreign they were, in some cases, bought out by the Government and in others by capitalists in the country itself, but in certain instances, as for example in the case of Argentine Republic, the foreign companies still remain to own and manage the railways. Circumstances peculiar to each country decided the state or company ownership and management of railways; political, economic or military consideration in each case decided for or against state management. As the two great democratic countries like Great Britain and U.S.A. still have company-owned and managed railways, which are fine illustrations of efficiency and continuous improvement, it is now generally held that in democratic countries it is best to have private (*i.e.*, joint stock company-owned) railways, as the managements of such railways are free from political influences. While not state-owned such railways are sufficiently controlled by the state in the interests of the public; whereas if they were state-owned and state-managed the natural tendency of the Government officials, in the event of inefficient management, would have been to try to justify the action of the Government. At present, it is held, the Government have no such interest of their own to induce them to be partial to the railway officials. The Government officials now know that they are only there to control company railways and to see that the public interests are well protected. Even when they have to be on the side of the companies, such action is intended to protect the companies against undue and unreasonable demands of the public which, if complied with, would inflict unnecessary burden on companies, and would thus cripple the power of the companies to do greater good to the community. It has often been said that democracy and efficiency of state-owned railways are not synonymous. But, in the case of South African Government Railways, it was publicly admitted that in that country state ownership and management of railways had achieved the greatest amount of good, which, it was alleged, would not have been possible with company management or company ownership. The broad features of the South African State Railway policy are summed up as follows :—

"Low rates for raw materials of manufacture, agricultural produce, minerals and other raw products of the country, with a view to stimulating agricultural and industrial development; special low rates for long distance traffic on tapering rates principle; passenger fares substantially low, particularly for suburban and long distance traffic; low distribution rates to afford inland traders equality of opportunity, as regards the railway tariffs, in competing with coastal merchants for the internal trade."

With the German state railways, and with the state railways of Belgium, the recognised policy before the war was that the railways were to be one of the main instruments of furthering the interests of the industries and trade of the country, and this was their first object, and the earning of money was then not the primary consideration. But unless such a policy is carried out judiciously, state railways are bound to err on the side of yielding to public demands, irrespective of whether they are reasonable or not, and whether or not in meeting such demands the railways are making any profits. And there can but be one end to such a policy, namely financial crisis. When railways are state-owned and state-managed, under the railway ministry of a democratic

Government, the result may be that the ministry in the long run thinks it easy to take the least line of resistance, until its finances are adversely affected. Commercial enterprise and efficiency of management, economy and discipline may be sacrificed to gain popularity with the members of a responsible legislature, which control the destinies of a Government, and not unoften extensions of Railway service and of railways themselves might be made without much consideration to financial results. When concessions are granted to one locality, to gain popularity with a certain or a certain number of influential or powerful member or members representing such locality, other localities would naturally demand similar concessions and they too could not obviously be disappointed. But if the railways are commercial concerns, subject to a reasonably strict state control, it may be pretty certain that the stability of policy and efficiency would be maintained without any adverse financial results. At the same time democratic Government can always enforce reasonably strict control over company railways, in order to ensure that public interests are well served and protected. But there is one disadvantage; purely commercial railways will not go to territories which are undeveloped, and would not bring in a good financial result in the near future, without substantial aid from the Government, either in the shape of advance of a portion of capital on easy terms or of a guarantee of reasonable minimum dividend on the capital laid out by companies. In such cases, the Government generally reserves the right (and is sometimes compelled to do so owing to financial failure of companies) to purchase the railways eventually, and when the subsidy paid to companies and the purchase money are added together, it is generally seen that the total cost is more than what it would have cost the state to build the railways, out of state funds or from direct state borrowings, from the beginning.

There is again another big problem in connection with state railways. The influence of the labouring classes in democratic countries is getting stronger, and the voting powers of the masses will increase more and more. The railway workmen will have the sympathy of the other members of the labouring classes, and it is feared that in the long run it might lead to workmen demanding more and more wages which, however, if demanded judiciously, would remove inequities of the past, but it is feared that this would not be so. The demand for increased wages might be carried on to such an extent as it would make it no longer possible to run the railways economically, and the result might be that efficient and cheap service, combined with modernly equipped and up-to-date railways, would not be possible; the inevitable end of this must eventually be rise in rates and fares to meet the expenses of railways. Not only this; it is also thought that in the case of non-employment prevailing in a country, owing to depression in trade, the State Railways might be called upon to employ more men than they require, and this was found to be the case in the case of German State Railways after the war, until they became company railways. On the other hand, the railway technique is advancing rapidly and the railway plant is getting more and more standardised, and then, again, in place of competition between railways, which was at one time regarded to be healthy to trade and industries, combination is getting more common (and this is very apparent from amalgamations and grouping of railways). On the principle that when business outgrows the capacity of private individuals it passes into the hands of joint stock companies, it follows that when the business becomes bigger still and extends over a very big area the intervention of public authority becomes essential. Whether this public authority could be made more effective by state management or by state control, through commissions or trade boards or railway boards of a Government, is a matter on which it would be most difficult to pass any decided opinion at the present moment when the railways in many of the great countries are passing either through a process of evolution or of revolution in the matter of internal management (Executive and Administrative), and as regards railway rates, Government control and financial results. But the fact remains that while, on the one hand, there is demand on the part of the users of railways, or the public and the working classes, to nationalise the railways and to run them as state concerns, the financial conditions and considerations, on the other hand, are making it quite clear that if railways are to be efficiently run and have to provide for cheap rates and fares, and are to be saved from bankruptcy, they should either be managed by companies or run by the state on a purely commercial basis, *i.e.*, with efficiency and economy. Then only they would be able to earn a reasonable return on the capital outlay, which would enable railways to pay interest on borrowed capital or loans, to save money to create depreciation funds to allow of repairs and renewals being carried out without further borrowings, and also to create sinking funds, where loans have to be redeemed.

Some think that amalgamation of railways is the first step towards nationalisation of railways, *i.e.*, amalgamation would eventually lead to nationalisation. Amalgamation and grouping of a large number of railways avoid many of the wastes, such as for instance, running of trains by parallel routes of competing railways, without there being the necessity for such trains from the point of view of overflowing traffic from one of the routes going over to the other. Moreover, when contiguous railways are brought under one control, the public benefit by long distance trains which also effect economy in working costs, and enable carriages to be employed in working traffic for a longer journey ahead, instead of being kept standing at junctions for return trips after comparatively shorter runs. The passenger fares and goods rates, on a tapering basis, are quoted over longer distances over the amalgamationised railway system, which naturally means lower rates and fares. Uniformity of working is rendered more easy along with standardization of rolling stock, plant and equipment. Delays to traffic at junction stations of two railways, due to the process of taking over and making over goods wagons, small consignments and parcels, are avoided. These are some of the advantages that are aimed at by the public when they ask for nationalisation of railways, but it has been seen, both in Great Britain and in the United States, that such advantages can also be secured by means of co-operation between and amalgamations of railway systems owned by companies. Moreover, the interest in railways is becoming international, and as regards uniformity of working and standardization of rolling stock, plant and equipment a great deal is being achieved by the International Railway Congress association, in which Company Railways have played a great part in the past. It is thus believed that if a Government were to concentrate its energies in protecting the interests of the public against unreasonable actions of joint stock railway companies, the Government would render far better service to the community, than if the Government were to engage in the business of running commercial concerns, such as railways, which had better be left to private enterprise; because state officials can hardly get rid of red-tapeism. Though it is admitted that a state can find better educated and abler men to join state service, because of prestige and security of service, it is held on the other hand, that it is this security of service and promotion mainly by seniority that are the causes that take away incentive and initiative from the officers and employees of a state railway. In the case of commercial concerns, promotion by sheer ability and merit or on good results shown, and more pay for deserving men are great incentives to the employees to do their best for their employers, and as a railway can only hope to prosper by meeting the requirements of the public and by working in the interests of the community they (the Railways) serve, it generally follows that in endeavouring to do their best for their employers the railway employees naturally do the best also for the public.

So far, the general aspects of the question relating to state *versus* company management of railways have been discussed, and it would perhaps be proper now to start with the Indian railways and to deal with particular points that affect them.

Indian railways, as already stated, were first started by joint stock companies of British domicile. Thus it was private enterprise that built the first railways of India, and more railways were built by railway companies in India than by the Government, but from the beginning such companies did not take that amount of risk which is generally undertaken by commercial enterprise. The railway companies that built the railways of India asked for and were given free gifts of land (*i.e.*, the ownership of land was that of the Government and the guaranteed companies' capital outlay did not include the cost thereof), and a specific guarantee of 5, 4 or 4½% minimum dividend. This latter concession led to company officials becoming less keen in making and working railways economically (because companies were made secure by the guarantee of a minimum dividend) than such officials would have been, had they not had this feeling of security against any loss to their employers. Therefore, in the later agreements, which were made with new companies, or with the old companies after the old companies had been bought out by the Government and the railways were leased back to companies for purposes of working, the minimum guarantee was reduced to 2½, 3 and 3%. Then the companies could only get a higher profit by sharing a portion of the surplus profits (which were available after meeting all expenses) with the Government. And thus incentive was given to companies to earn more money for railways and to economise in working and building railways.

The railways were acquired by the Government after 25, 30 and 50 years, and, in most cases, payments were made by systems of annuities, and a premium of 20 or 25%, over and above the real value of the railway, was included in the total money payable to the old guaranteed companies for the purchase of railways. After the acquisition of railways by the state, the responsibility for finding funds for further expenditure became that of the Government of India and of the Secretary of State. The railways became the absolute property of state, and naturally Government control over such railways became more rigid. It will thus be seen that, so far as ownership of railways by Government was concerned, nationalization of railways in India was effected a long time ago, although most railways were left to be worked by the lessee companies. A few were, however, retained by the state for management by direct state agencies. But this did not meet with the wishes of the Indian public, and they asked for state management of Indian state-owned railways on the ground that since the railways were owned by the state (and therefore by the Indian tax-payers) there were no reasons for employing companies to work them, and that the railways should be managed by the real owners (*i.e.*, through direct state agencies). It is true that a small part of the capital was yet held by railway companies, but it was noted that the Government, which was $\frac{4}{5}$th owner, should not entrust the management to the $\frac{1}{5}$ owner—the company—and share the surplus profits with them. But, on the other hand, another section of people interested in and using the Indian Railways, mainly the European mercantile community of India, and some Indians as well, were of opinion that the sharing of the surplus profits was not such a loss to the Government, as compared with what the loss would eventually be by lack of incentive and want of initiative on the part of the managers of railways, when they come to be run by the state, and that in the long run the nett profits of the railways might diminish and efficiency might be sacrificed.

The whole question was examined by a Railway committee, appointed by the Secretary of state for India, and it was presided over by late Sir William Acworth, once a great apostle of company management; but it was his view and also of some of his colleagues that taking into consideration the special circumstances of the case it would be much better that the Indian state-owned railways should be managed by the state. They arrived at this conclusion after taking most exhaustive evidence both in India and in England (unofficial and official). The late Sir William Acworth was supported by four other members, but the rest 5 decided in favour of company management; so the committee was divided equally in their opinion.

The late Sir William Acworth, and those who shared his views, stated that they did not find that there was any difference between the managements of Indian state railways by direct state agencies and of company-managed State Railways, and the Railway Board also admitted this, but those who held the opposite views declared that the existence of state-managed and company-managed rail ways side by side in India gave the state-managed railways the incentive to keep their managements up to the mark so as not to be below the standard of the company-worked lines. It was, however, pointed out by the supporters of state management of Indian railways that the company management of Indian state railways was not the same as the company management of railways of Great Britain or of U. S. A. In the latter countries, the railways were the absolute property of the companies while in the case of Indian Railways the property belonged to the state, and for this reason the state controlled the finances and the expenditure; and money for improvements, additions and alterations came from the Government, or through the help of the Government. Thus the companies in India could not undertake any expenditure to effect improvements in service or in earnings on its own initiative until or unless the Government sanctioned, and were in a position to sanction, the expenditure and provided funds. And thus the real incentive of commercial enterprise was entirely lost in the case of companies that were managing the Indian railways. That this was true to a great extent could not be denied, but, on the other hand, it was also possible that as the companies looked for better profits they were able to place before the Government such profitable proposals and schemes which acted as inducements to the Government to consider them favourably.

It was further contended that the railway companies would serve the interests of the public better by trying their best to develop the traffic, but the Indian public bodies held the view that the policy of the Indian railways in the past had been to encourage exports of raw materials to foreign countries and imports of foreign products by favourable rates to and from the ports. It was clear, however, that this was not due to any specific design or motive on the part of the railway companies, (because they were foreign companies) to encourage the export and the import trade in preference to internal traffic. But it was apparent to a certain extent that in the case of railways (whether worked by the state or by companies), which were run as commercial concerns, the main object was to earn money, and that, this being the case, as traffic to ports gave the railways long leads, concentrated wagon and train loads, and since imported traffic assisted to obtain loads for empty wagons returning from the ports, the natural tendency of the railways would be to encourage such traffic, in preference to traffic which is not port traffic, *i.e.*, internal traffic carried for comparatively shorter distances. The object of the state railways, it was argued at the time, should be to work on the same lines as on which the German state railways were working at the time, *viz.*, the first and primary object of state railways should be to improve the economic condition of the country and not to look mainly for profits. But since then the policy of the German railways has now been altered, and the same has happened to railways in other parts of the continent of Europe, mainly because of financial crisis, and the altered policy is said to be summed up as follows :—

"The primary object of railways should be to so fix the rates and fares as to earn a reasonable dividend on the capital outlay, without of course impeding the progress of the economic condition of the country so long as this could be done without loss of a reasonable return to the railway on its investment."

It was once observed, many years ago, that the interests of a railway company and those of the Government were not identical in many respects. It was pointed out that while a company might be content to earn 30,000 pies (Rs. 156-0-0) by carrying 10,000 passengers at 3 pies per mile, the Government, which would be naturally interested in seeing that railways were made useful to as large number of people as state railways could serve, might allow 30,000 pies to be earned by carrying 30,000 passengers at 1 pie per mile, if the railway could afford this without incurring loss or seriously minimising the profits. It was, however, eventually accepted that as high rates and high profits were not synonymous, and since low profit per unit, repeated several times on a larger volume of business, meant in the long run a larger aggregate nett gain than lesser business at high rates, it would not be to the interests of a railway company to charge such rates and fares as would impede or impair the development of the railway business.

The Indian public opinion against company management of Indian railways was mainly based on the ground, that state management would be more amenable to Indian public opinion than company management would be, and that as the state was the owner of railways the public should reap the full advantage of the Indian railways in the matter of making them useful to develop India's resources and economic condition to their fullest extent, by grant of more favourable rates to Indian enterprise, local trade and Indian industries, and by Indianising the higher railway services. At the time the Acworth Railway Committee made its investigations it was possible to shew that more Indians were employed in the higher services of the state-worked state railways than they were in the service of the company-worked state railways. The defence of the companies was that as Indians were found suitable they were being employed in the higher services, and that the company railway policy in this respect was changing on the side of more Indianisation; the companies argued that in the past the absence of Indians in the higher services was not on the ground of racial prejudices but on account of efficiency. Sir William Acworth and those of his colleagues, who agreed with his views, held that as the railways were owned practically by the Indian tax-payers it was not unreasonable that the Indian public should demand Indianisation of the higher services and that the evidence before the Committee showed that this had been more possible in the case of state-worked state railways than in the case of company-worked state railways. In Germany, even under the present company management, no permanent employee is allowed to be in Railway service unless he is a German. The bulk of Indian public supporting state management laid stress on the point that state railways were more useful in furthering the national interests of Indians than company lines could be. The supporters of company management practically held the view that as the country became more democratic and the masses came into more powers, undue influence might be brought to bear from the political side in connection with railway internal management, which might result in inefficiency and want of discipline and loss in railway earnings, which would reduce the powers of a railway to do good to the country.

The Acworth group of the Railway committee (consisting of late Sir William Acworth and four other members) recommended state management of state-owned railways in India and the rest (*viz.*, the other five members) supported company management and suggested that there should be, in future, companies of Indian domicile, but the strongest argument against such company management was that they would not be companies in any real sense of the word because the greater part of the finances would be those of the Government and that, therefore, the control of the Government would remain as rigid as before, so that the real benefit of commercial and private enterprise would be lost. Both the recommendations were placed before the Indian Legislative Assembly, who by a great majority of votes declared in favour of State management. The Government of India and the Secretary of State for India, acting on this recommendation, took over the two great railway systems, the G.I.P. Railway and the E.I. Railway, under direct state management, on the expiry of their contracts with the companies, and the Government were thus able to effect the amalgamation of O. & R. Railway (a state railway) with the E.I. Railway, which, it is expected, would lead to good results in the long run. The Acworth Railway Committee also unanimously recommended the separation of the railway budget from the general budget, and this change has already been effected.

It may be useful to mention here that in the contract of the newly formed company, which has taken over the German state railways and is managing them as commercial concerns, the following clause appears :—

"The rights of supervision and control of the operation and tariffs of the Railways reserved to the Government by the present law shall never be so exercised by the Government as to prevent the Company earning a net revenue adequate to secure the regular payment of interest and sinking fund on the bonds and the preference shares."

A railway or railways of a country are the arteries of trade and industries, and the flow of traffic through them should be even and continuous, and this can only be done if the management is efficient and the rates and fares are reasonable. Interference and control of Legislature over Railways of a country are essential so long as they are in public interests, and do not tie the hands of the managers too tightly, whether the railways are company-owned or state-owned. But when the railways are state-owned the Legislature in a democratic country is naturally responsible both for efficiency in management and for their finances ; and they are again required to see that the safety of the public and the charges to the public are fair and reasonable. If these can be attained by state railways, which are already there, it is well and good, but if company ownership, of a purely Indian character, can at any time develop and purchase the Indian State Railways and give efficient service and cheap rates and fares it would be still better because it would make the Indian people more enterprising and self-reliant, so long as such companies do not ask for any subsidy from the Government either in the shape of free gift of land or a guarantee of minimum dividend.

S. C. Ghos

MILITARY EXPENDITURE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

The military expenditure of the East India Company furnishes the key to its general policy. Before, however, we discuss the details of military charges, it will be desirable to give a brief history of the growth of the army in India. As a trading corporation the East India Company did not find it necessary to maintain a large military force. But the need began to be felt when the Company's servants in India, commenced the practice of interfering in the quarrels and intrigues of the country powers. This policy before long involved the Company in wars, offensive as well as defensive. During the earlier years, the authorities in England desired to pursue a policy of peace. Let us take an instance. Immediately after the passing of the Regulating Act of 1773, the Directors sent instructions to the Governor-General and Council directing them to fix their attention on the preservation of peace throughout India. The Council was, however, divided on this question. The majority favoured a pacific policy, but Warren Hastings was too ambitious to concur in this view. He not unoften intervened in the affairs of the Indian princes with the object of acquiring territories. In connection with the participation of the Company's forces in the Rohilla war, the Court of Proprietors unanimously adopted the following resolution in 1775: "They are of opinion, with the Court of Directors, that the agreement made with Suja-ud-Daula for the hire of a part of the Company's troops for the reduction of the Rohilla country, and the subsequent steps taken for carrying on that war, were framed on wrong policy, were contrary to the general orders of the Company, frequently repeated, for keeping their troops within the borders of the provinces, and for not extending their territories, and were also contrary to the general principles which the Company wish should be supported."[1] The Proprietors strongly approved of the policy of the majority of the Governor-General's Council which coincided exactly with their own, and remarked that "their determination to endeavour to maintain peace in India, and rigorously to defend our possessions and allies, cannot be too much applauded."[2]

The orders of the Company, during this period, to their administration at Bombay, were drawn up in the same spirit and directed to the same object, namely, the preservation of peace, and a system of defence. And yet they were not without wishes for some extension of territories in that quarter ; and had early recommended, in very strong terms, to the President and Council of Bombay, "an attentive endeavour, upon every occasion that might offer," to obtain a grant of Salsette and Bassein from the Marhattas.

The Company's officials in India were, with a few exceptions, wedded from the beginning to a policy of conquest. And with the extension of territory and the hope of acquisition of fresh riches, the policy of the authorities in England themselves also underwent a gradual change. A large army thus became an imperative necessity. Some of the writers in the service of the Company had already transformed themselves into soldiers. Small batches of armed men were from time to time brought from the United Kingdom. In 1764, the President and Council in Bengal represented that the Company's interests were exposed to great danger by frequent mutinies among the Sepoys, and urged the indispensable necessity of keeping up such a body of English troops as might furnish a sufficient security for their possessions, and might over-rule the country powers. In the same year, Lord Clive in a letter to the Court of Directors proposed that the Company should always have in Bengal 4,000 (or at least 3,000) European soldiers. The Directors agreed to the proposal and left it to the Governor and Council to reduce the same whenever it might be done with safety, or to increase it, whenever it should appear to be absolutely necessary, and not otherwise.[1]

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[1] Fifth Report from the Committee of Secrecy, 1782, Appendix. 46.

[2] *Ibid.*

A practical limit was set to the number of European troops by the difficulty of obtaining recruits from Europe and the enormous expense incurred for the purpose. Besides, the European soldiers in those days were mostly drawn from the lowest strata of society, and indiscipline and various vices were their marked characteristics. Thus the formation of an army, composed largely of Indians, was found necessary. Originally, the Indian force consisted of half-disciplined *sepoys* equipped with rude, antiquated arms. It was at Bombay that the first Indian corps was formed by the English. The sepoys continued long in independent companies, commanded by Indian captains. As the possessions of that settlement enlarged, its army increased. The companies were formed into battalions under European officers. In 1780, during the war with the Maharattas, the establishment consisted of fifteen battalions. At the termination of the war with Tipu, these were reduced to six, and one battalion of marines. In 1788, its numbers were augmented to twelve battalions. In 1796, it was formed into an establishment of four regiments of two battalions each. The acquisition of territories, and subsidiary alliances, led to a progressive increase in the force.[2]

Indian troops were first instructed in the European system of discipline by the French in Madras. The idea was then borrowed from them by the English. About the middle of the eighteenth century, the southern Presidency was a scene of keen warfare between the English and the French. During the siege of

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[1] Report of the Committee of Secrecy, 1773.

[2] *Vide* Sir John Malcolm, Rise, Progress and Character of the Native Army of India, written in 1816. Minutes of Evidence, Report of the Select Committee, 1832. Appendix B.

The Bombay sepoy army was indiscriminately composed of all classes, Mahomedans, Hindus, Jews, and Christians.

Madras which took place in 1746, a number of peons, a species of irregular infantry, armed with swords and spears or matchlocks, were enlisted for the occasion. A young officer attached to this body, by name Haliburton, was employed in the following year in training a small corps of Indians in the European manner. The number of such sepoys gradually increased. During all the wars of Clive, Lawrence, Smith and Coote, the sepoys of Madras displayed great courage and devotion to duty.

The Indian cavalry of the Madras Presidency was originally raised by the Nawab of the Carnatic. The first corps embodied into a regiment under European command served in the campaign of 1768 in Mysore. From 1771 to 1776, the cavalry force was greatly augmented, but then it declined. The proportion that was retained nominally in the service of the Nawab, but actually in that of the Company, served in the campaigns of 1780 to 1783, and was formally transferred to the Company's service in 1784.

The organisation of the troops in battalions in Bengal was first made in 1757. Each battalion consisted of 10 companies of 100 men each, commanded by a captain, with one lieutenant, one ensign, and one or two sergeants. The cavalry came into existence at a later date. The Bengal troops distinguished themselves in the war against Tipu Sultan in 1790 and 1791. They also showed their accustomed valour in the campaigns of 1803 and 1804.

Thus before the end of the eighteenth century, each of the three Presidencies of India had succeeded in organising an efficient army of its own.[1] The actual strength of the army in India varied according to the political changes which took place in the country itself as well as in Europe. In Bengal, the total number of soldiers in 1757, the year of the battle of Plassey, was 3,796, of whom 1,407 were Europeans (including officers and non-commissioned officers), and 2,389 sepoys and topasses. In 1766, the Bengal army was composed as follows: European infantry, consisting of 119 commissioned officers and 2,520 non-commissioned officers and privates; European cavalry,—one officer and 26 privates; Artillery, 30 officers and 23,066 men; Sepoy infantry,—3,000 officers and 300 mounted sowars. The army in the Presidency of Madras consisted of: 97 officers and 2,397 non-commissioned officers and privates in the European infantry; 2 officers and 90 soldiers in the European cavalry; 20 officers and 338 men in the artillery; and 3,000 officers and 13,122 sepoys in the Indian portion of the army. The strength of the Bombay army was: 65 officers and 1,388 non-commissioned officers and privates in the European infantry; 17 officers and 297 soldiers in the European cavalry; 437 officers and 3,077 soldiers in the sepoy infantry. There were, besides, small contingents maintained in Bencoolen and St. Helena, at India's expense.

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[1] Malcolm, *Rise, Progress and Character of the Native Army of India, 1816,*

Some increase in numbers in each of the Presidencies occurred in the course of the next six years. This increase, of course, involved an augmentation of charges. In 1772, an attempt was made to reduce military expenditure; but a few years later, it again showed signs of increase. A comparative view of expenditure in the different provinces during this early period will be found from the following table[1]:

	Bengal	Madras	Bombay	Total
	£	£	£	£
1765-66	996,007	333,549	118,020	1,447,576
1772-73	[illegible],579,175	599,216	311,902	2,490,296
1778-79	1,295,074	911,669	401, 534	2,608,079

It should be remembered that, in addition to these sums, considerable amounts were spent by Indian princes in accordance with treaties and engagements with the Company. Instances are to be found in the stipulations made by the Nawab of Murshidabad, the Nawab of Arcot, the Raja of Tanjore and the Vizier of Oudh.[1]

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[1] All figures include expenditure on military buildings and fortifications.

A brief reference may be made here to the pay of the soldiers during this period. The salaries of the Indian portion of the troops in Bengal were as follows: subedar, Rs. 20; jamadar, Rs. 13; havildar, Rs. 6-2-0; naik, Rs. 4-2-0; topass,[2] Rs. 5; sepoy, Rs. 4. The pay of the European soldier was somewhat higher. The salaries of the European officers, were fixed on a much more generous scale. They received house-rent in addition to salary.

In 1780, the pay, *bhata,* and allowances in the Bengal army were as follows (in sonat rupees):—colonel: pay, 310; *bhata,* 775; allowance, 2,100; lieutenant-colonel: pay, 248; *bhata,* 620, allowance, 195; major: pay, 186; *bhata,* 465; allowance, 155; captain: pay 160; *bhata,* 186; lieutenant: pay, 117; *bhata,* 124; ensign: pay, 50-8; *bhata,* 96; sergeant: pay, 16, *bhata,* 10; corporal: pay, 14; *bhata,* 10; drummer: pay, 11; *bhata,* 10; fifer, pay, 11, *bhata,* 10. The private soldier received Rs. 10 as pay and Rs. 10 as *bhata.* The salaries of the Indian officers and soldiers were slightly higher than in 1757.

We thus find that while the rank and file received miserable pittances, substantial emoluments were fixed for the commissioned officers, especially in the higher ranks. In addition to the sums mentioned above, the officers received commission on the *dewani* revenues in different proportions. The Commander-in-chief received, in addition to his salary and various allowances, seven and a half shares of the commission.[1] In 1774, the Court of Directors directed that the Commander-in-chief be permitted to occupy a suitable house and that he be paid a sum of £6,000 (Rs. 60,000) per annum, in lieu of travelling charges and all other advantages, in addition to his salary of £10,000 as member of the Governor-General's Council.[2] Curiously enough, these emoluments were not considered sufficient for the head of the military department, and it was resolved in the Governor-General's Council in 1779 that Sir Eyre Coote (then Commander-in-chief) should be allowed to draw Rs. 7,500 per month for the expenses of his table and Rs. 6,326 for travelling and incidental charges when in the field.[3] These allowances were discontinued in 1780 under the orders of the Directors.[4]

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[1] The Nawab of Arcot engaged to defray the expenses of ten battalions of sepoys, besides that of his own garrisons. The Raja of Tanjore paid annually four lakhs of pagodas for the expense of the Company's troops.

[2] The 'topasses' consisted mainly of half-castes. The name was derived from 'topi' (the European hat) which they used. They were intermediate between 'Sepoys' and European Soldiers.

Another, though uncertain, source of income of military officers and soldiers was prize-money. All ranks of the army participated in the plunder obtained from the various wars, the shares of the officers being naturally much larger than those of the rest. After the defeat of Tipu Sultan, Cornwallis ordered a gratuity equal to six months' *bhata* (about 22 lakhs of rupees) to be distributed to the troops out of the money obtained from him. The Court of Directors went further, and directed as much more to be distributed "in testimony of their approbation of the services of the army."

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[1] The accounts of the military department show that from the 1st May, 1763, to the 1st September, 1777, the total amount of the allowances drawn by the Commanders-in-Chief in India (including profit on the monopoly of salt and the commission on the revenues) was 24,03,923 Company's Rupees. No change for the Commander-in-Chief appears from the 15th September, 1765 to 27th January, 1767, during which period Clive was Governor as well as Commander-in-Chief. The average amount thus works out at about two lakhs of rupees a year.

[2] Company's General Instructions, article 60, to the Governor-General and Council, dated March, 29, 1774.

[3] Philip Francis objected to the proposal on the ground that the proposed establishment was a double one. But Hastings supported it by referring to the precedent of Col. Stibbert. To which Francis replied that no conclusion in favour of Sir Eyre Coote could be drawn from the abuses of former times; and he urged that it was in view of these abuses that the Company had fixed a precise limit to the pay and emoluments of the Commander-in-Chief. *Vide* Proceedings of the Governor-General and Council in Bengal, 12th and 22nd April, 1779.

[4] Company's General letter to Bengal, October, 18, 1780.

In the earlier days, the number of British officers was small, and Indians rose to high positions, "even occasionally to the command of irregular regiments."[1] But, gradually, they were excluded from the higher ranks of the army.[2] In 1783, the Select Committee of Parliament observed: "No native of whatever description holds any rank higher than that of a Subadar Commandant, that is of an officer below the rank of the English subaltern."[3]

Wars and extension of territory led to further increase in military expenditure during the next fifteen years. In 1781, the President and Council at Fort St. George wrote to the Directors that the heavy charges increased by the war with Hyder Ali laid them under the necessity of appropriating all the revenues to the defraying of military expenses, and prevented any provision for investment. Cornwallis believed in a policy of peace, but the engagements of the Company with some of the Indian princes led him into a long and arduous struggle with Tipu Sultan. He did not consider it advisable to make any material reduction in the strength of the army. Besides. his conviction that a large European force was necessary for the maintenance of British authority in India prevented him from reducing the military charges.[4]

In 1793, the total military expenses of India amounted to £3,035,375. The strength of the army in that year consisted of 88,429 men. Of these, 34,922 belonged to the Bengal Army, 39,895 to Madras and 13,612 to Bombay. The relative proportions thus were: ·394, ·451 and ·153 respectively. Madras had now gone ahead of Bengal in respect of military strength. Though divided under three administrations, the army in India was in reality one whole, "engaged as it was for the protection of the Empire at large."[1]

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[1] Cornwallis relinquished his share which amounted to £47,224, and his example was followed by General Medows. *Vide* Forest, Selections from State Papers, Cornwallis, Vol. I, p. 178.

[2] Paper read by Sir George MacMunn at the East India Association, 1927.

[3] Ninth Report, 1783. The Committee said further : "All the honourable, all the lucrative situations of the Army, all supplies and contracts of whatever species that belong to it, are in the hands of the English."

[4] On the 18th August, 1787, Cornwallis wrote to the Court of Directors : "I think it must be universally admitted that without a large and well-regulated body of Europeans, our hold of these valuable dominions must be very insecure. It cannot be expected that even the best of treatment would constantly conciliate the willing obedience of so vast a body of people." Ross, Cornwallis Correspondence.

Shore was of a peaceful turn of mind, and he did his best to keep military expenses down. But after 1796, the armies of all the Presidencies were increased by successive and considerable augmentations. Between 1793 and 1807 the increase of expenditure amounted to nearly four and half millions sterling a year. This was due, primarily, to additions made to establishments during Lord Wellesley's wars, and, secondarily, to the remodelling of the army and the increase of the pay of both European and Indian soldiers.

In the course of an exposition of the state of the Company's finances since the renewal of the Charter in 1793, the Court of Directors observed, in 1808: "Whenever Great Britain is involved in a European war, the effects are always felt in India in increased military expenses, even when no European enemy appears in the field there; but that war (the Napoleonic war) has been carried into India, and, at the desire of His Majesty's Government, the Company have had to sustain the expense of various expeditions to the French, Dutch and Spanish possessions in India, and to Egypt, all chiefly on the national account."[2]

The Directors pointed out that the Company had incurred a very heavy charge on account of the great increase in the number of the King's troops sent to India. They advanced a claim of £18,00,000 on the British Government on account of the expenses incurred since the commencement in 1797 of the foreign expeditions from India. In support of this claim they observed : " Our revenues will not, with the requisite allowances for the other branches of public expenditure, suffice for the payment of the present military establishments, of which the King's troops, including their passage to and from India and the recruiting service, account for so extensive a part. Reduction, therefore, is here indispensable. Increase, payable from the funds of the Company, is impossible; and this is a subject on which a clear and definite understanding is immediately necessary." They concluded their exposition with the following significant remarks : "For wars growing out of our Indian system, at least before we had spread ourselves, as within these few years we have done over so much of the continent of Hindusthan, our Indian resources, with the aid of loans, have been adequate......But against the invasion of great European armies by land, the Company's revenues can by no means provide, and it may be doubted whether the current revenues of the Moghul Empire, when flourishing and under one head, would long have been sufficient for such purpose... The Nation has an interest in preserving the Eastern possessions of this country, and from the hands of the French, greater even than that of the Company. The Company have acquired and maintained them, infinitely more to the advantage of the Nation than its own. If these possessions should at length be assailed by Powers to which the revenues and resources derivable from them can provide no effectual opposition, it is but just that some part of the wealth which has flowed from them into Great Britain through public and private channels, for the last fifty years, should be employed in their defence, and in defending them out of means they have themselves furnished, the country will only act in the maintenance of its own essential interests."[1]

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[1] *Vide* an Exposition of the State of the Company's Finances in India, 1808.

[2] An Exposition of the State of the Company's Finances in India, 1st April, 1808.

At the time of the renewal of the Company's Charter in 1813, the amount of force stood at 200,071 men. The relative proportions in the different provinces had also, in the meantime, changed. Bengal, which in 1793 was second in point of number, had now a considerably larger force than Madras, and Bombay stood far behind both. The military operations against Nepal and the Mahrattas led to several additions to the strength of the army from 1815. The maximum was reached during the first Burmese war and the siege of Bharatpur. With the return of peace in 1827, there was some decrease in number, and in 1830, the total force stood at 223,476 men. The numbers in the different presidencies at this time were: Bengal, 112,598; Madras, 70,730; Bombay, 40,148.[1]

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[1] An Exposition of the State of the Company's Finances in India, 1st April, 1808,

If we compare the European and Indian troops in respect of numbers, we find that in 1793, there were 18,768 Europeans, 69,661 Indians, the relative proportion being 1 European to 3·711 Indians. With the acquisition of new territories, the number of European troops gradually increased, but the proportion of the European to the Indian force fell almost steadily till in 1830 it stood at 1 to 5·110.

The question of the relative strength of the two kinds of troops formed one of the objects of investigation by the Select Committee of 1832. The witnesses before this Committee expressed very divergent views on the question. Sir Robert Scot was inclined to fix the proportion at one-tenth of the number of troops maintained, but at one-sixth when they took the field. Mr. Mackenzie observed: "I consider that a large native army is quite essential for maintaining the tranquillity of the country; but I should be very sorry to see its defence and obedience trusted to them without also a large European force." On the other hand, Sir John Malcolm remarked: "That a certain proportion of European troops should always be in India is fully admitted, but there is no error more common than that of considering them as a check upon the native armies. They never have, and never will prove such. It is by complete confidence alone that the native army of India can be preserved in efficiency, and attached to the Government it serves."[1]

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[1] *Vide* Evidence taken by the Select Committee, 1832.

The difference of expense between the two classes of troops was always considerable. The actual cost per man in each description of corps, European and Indian, in 1830, was as follows :—*Cavalry* : in Bengal ; European, £100 ; Indian £64 ; in Madras, European, £109, Indian £90 ; in Bombay, European, £107, Indian, 87. *Artillery* (Foot) : in Bengal, European, £61 ; Indian, £28 ; in Madras, European, £81 ; Indian, £45 ; in Bombay, European, £90 ; Indian, £46. *Infantry* : in Bengal, European (King's), £61, European (Company's), £59; Indian £30 ; in Madras, European (King's), £66. European (Company's), £68, Indian, £35 ; in Bombay, European (King's), £65 ; European (Company's), £67 ; Indian, £32.

With the question of expense is connected that of the relative efficiency of European and Indian troops. This, according to Sir Robert Scot. "would vary very much according to circumstances." "In some situations," he said, "the native troops I should think better calculated for employment than European troops ; in others, I should think the European troops better calculated for employment than the native ; but in the general course of service I should say they act better together, and perhaps they should always be so employed, but with a very limited proportion of Europeans to natives."[2]

The pay of the Indian troops at the different Presidencies was practically the same. There was, however, a difference in the *bhata,* and a more considerable one in the pensions. This had arisen from "a variety of causes referring to the class of men, the difficulty of obtaining recruits, price of provisions and labour, and other local circumstances."

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[1] *Vide* Minutes of Evidence recorded before the Select Committee, 1832.

[2] *Vide* Minutes of Evidence. Select Committee, 1832. Another advantage of the Indian portion ol the army was mentioned by Sir John Malcolm. He wrote." Our regular native army not only inspires awe by their courage and discipline, but form a strong link with a great body of our subjects, including their relatives and connections."

The European troops were of two descriptions, namely, King's troops and Company's troops. The total number of King's troops in the year 1813, including both cavalry and infantry, was 21,490; and the expenditure amounted to £1,014,971. There was some reduction in the strength of this portion of the army between the years 1819 and 1826. But an increase took place in 1827. The number rose to 20,292 in 1830, and the expenditure came up to £801,200.

The constitution of the Company's army experienced frequent and important alterations. Till 1783, all Company's officers were commanded by King's officers of the same rank. From that date till 1796, the Company's armies had an independent constitution and system of promotion. A new arrangement was made in 1796, and another in 1805. In 1823, further changes were introduced into the system. The pay and allowances of the King's forces in India were the same with the corresponding ranks in the Company's army in 1830. The pay of the officers was somewhat higher, but in such instances a deduction was made from the allowances, so as to keep the two services on a footing of equality in the corresponding ranks.[1] The Company repaid to the British Government every sum spent in England in respect of regiments serving in India.

The desirability or otherwise of the transfer of the Company's army to the Crown was one of the questions asked of the witnesses who appeared before the Select Committee of 1832.[2] Some of them expressed the belief that a material reduction of expense would result from the transfer of the Company's troops to the Crown. They held that a considerable duplication of staff would be avoided by this means, and that a saving might be effected in the supply of stores. There was, however, no unanimity of opinion expressed in this regard. One of the experts declared that the separation of the Company's army from the King's had been "productive of the greatest obstacle to its efficiency, good spirit and economy." On the other hand, some other witnesses expressed themselves as decidedly opposed to such a change. A few of them supported the idea of amalgamation with some qualifications.

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[1] Major-General Sir John Malcolam's letter to the Secretary to the India Board, dated 13th February. 1832.

[2] Lord Cornwaliis had proposed not only "that officers in the King's and the Company's troops should be put, as nearly as possible, on a footing of equality in every respect, but that the whole of the army, Indian as well as European, should be transferred to His Majesty's Service. Letter to the Court of Directors, December, 19,1787 and Letter to Dundas November 7, 1794.

The army was divided into three branches, namely, artillery, cavalry, and infantry. The strength of the artillery force rose from 16,460 in 1813 to 17,385 men in 1830. During this period, the expense of this branch rose from £398,929 to £626,463. The cavalry consisted of 15,925 persons in 1813, while the strength in 1830 was 19,539. The expense increased from £939,490 to £1,070,834. The strength of the infantry maintained in 1830 was 170,062 as against 156,279 in 1813, the cost being £4,025,079 as against £3,644,099. Besides, there were the irregular corps, the engineers, the pioneers, and the medical staff.[1]

A few words may here be said about *bhata* or allowance. The system of *bhata* was first introduced in the days of Clive, in view of the additional charges which service in the field involved. But in 1757, the system of double *bhata* was introduced in peculiar circumstances.[2] Clive, being urged by the Directors to reduce military expenses in Bengal, abolished double *bhata* in 1766. The decision caused so great an irritation among officers that a conspiracy was formed to resist the order. The combination was, however, put down without much difficulty. In 1779, the system was this. All officers and soldiers,—whether of cavalry, infantry, artillery, or sepoys,—all laskars, artificers and workmen of every description, acting in the field, within the provinces, were allowed full *bhata*. Half *bhata*, was allowed to all of them while in garrison, cantonments, or quarters. Double *bhata* was granted to commissioned officers only, when they were acting in the field beyond the provinces, and half double (or full) *bhata* when in garrison, cantonments or quarters beyond the provinces. But officers who received double *bhata* were not entitled to draw the monthly gratuity. The commissioned officers received pay and gratuity (besides their pay and allowances on the staff) according to their military rank, but *bhata* only in one capacity, namely, that of their highest rank.[1] Full *bhata* was originally meant to provide for field equipment and extra expenses which officers were obliged to incur when marching. But it early lost this character in Bengal when continued to officers in cantonments. The same case occurred in the Bombay Presidency, where instead of an amount to meet a necessary but temporary expense a monthly allowance was given, which became practically part of the officer's pay. On several occasions during the Governor-generalship of Marquis Hastings and Earl Amherst the Court of Directors urged the reduction of the *bhata*. But both these administrators objected to the proposal. In 1828, as one of the measures of retrenchment, orders were issued for reducing these allowances by one-half. Considerable hardship was felt in consequence of the change, and it led to a great deal of discontent among officers.[2]

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[1] Minutes of Evidence, recorded by the Select Committee, 1832.

[2] In regard to the origin of the system of double bhata, Mill says, "When the English forces took the field with Mir Jafar after the battle of Plassey, it was to cherish their goodwill, on which he was dependent, that the Nawab afforded to the officers twice the ordinary sum, and this allowance was distinguished by the name of double *bhata*." History of India.

Evidence was taken by the Parliamentary Committees of 1832 on the question of Indian military expenditure. It is significant that the increase of the European portion of the army was higher than that of the Indian, the relative strength of the two kinds of troops being now 1 : 1·94. During the administration of Lord Dalhousie, a great improvement took place in the condition of the European soldier. His terms of service, food, clothing, and lodging were all bettered, and great care was bestowed upon his occupation, recreation and health. But the condition of the Indian soldier was found to have been so perfect in the past as to have left no room for improvement. Many of the witnesses urged a substantial reduction. One witness said: "Just in proportion as good government fails, is the chance of insurrection." He expressed the opinion that "future expense ought to be less than the past," for the chance of war had greatly diminished. He urged a policy of non-interference with the Indian States. On the recommendation of the Military Finance Committee, some reduction was made in the strength of the army before the renewal of the Charter in 1833. Considerable retrenchment was thus effected in military expenditure.

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[1] *Vide* Report of the Committee of Secretary, 1773.

[2] Vide Sir John Malcolm's Letter, dated the 13th February, 1832.

In 1834-35, the total strength of the army in India was 183,760 men. During the Afghan, Sind and Gwalior Wars it rose to 267,673. In 1844, there was a slight reduction in the military force. But the Sikh Wars gave another push to the army. By 1851, the total number of persons composing the army had risen to 289,529. The Sepoy Mutiny caused a large increase in the strength of the army. In 1858-59, the army in India numbered 302,533 men, and it was composed of 106,290 Europeans and 196,243 Indians. Of the former, 86,186 were royal troops. This was, in reality, a question of policy.

Simultaneously with the growth in number, there was an increase in military expenditure. In 1834-35, army expenditure, excluding buildings, works, stores, etc., amounted to £7,041,162. There was a slight reduction in charges in the next two years. But from 1837-38, owing to the various military operations, the expenditure showed a continually upward tendency. In 1846-47, the military charges stood at

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[1] It was observed in reference to the half bhata order, "that an over-strained attention to economy on occassions which call for special consideration, is too likely to operate injudiciously on the spirit and disposition of the officers and men."

£11·98 millions. In the following year, a small reduction was attempted, but there was again an increase in 1848-49. During the three years which followed, military expenditure was slightly less. But the year 1853-54 saw another increase. On the eve of the Mutiny, the annual expenditure was over 12 million pounds sterling. The Sepoy Mutiny caused a large increase in military charges. The total military expenditure rose to £18·40 millions in 1857-58, and in the following year, it amounted to no less than £25·16 millions.

PRAMATHANATH BANERJEA

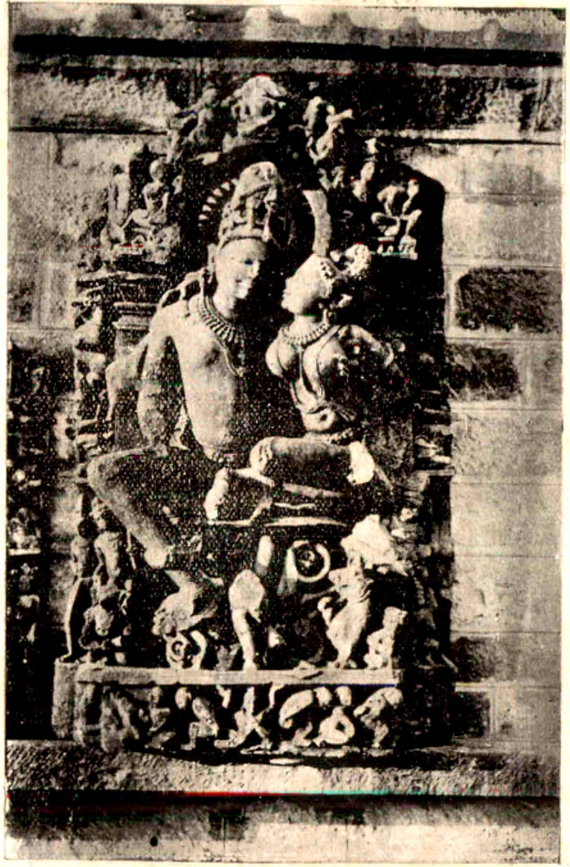

FIG. I.] Siva and Uma

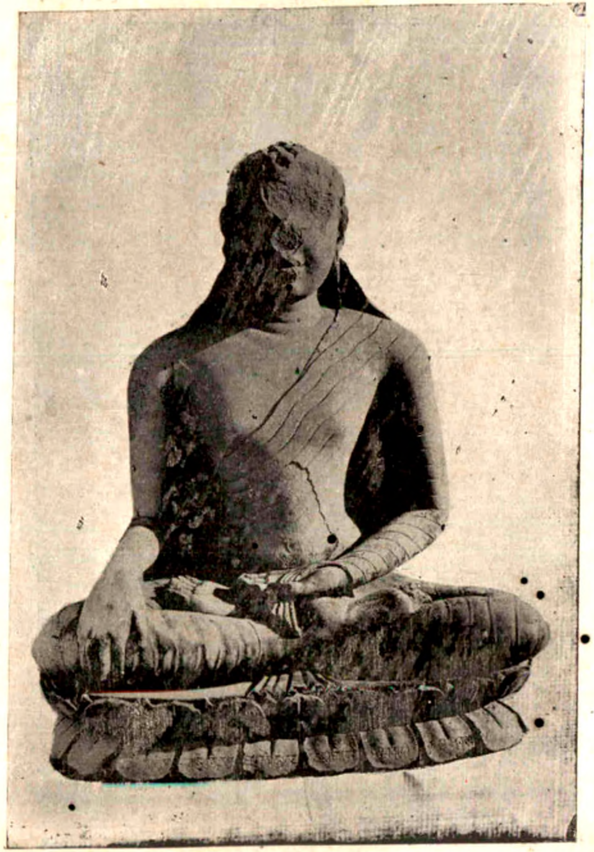

FIG. II.] Buddha

(With inscription on the petals of the lotus).

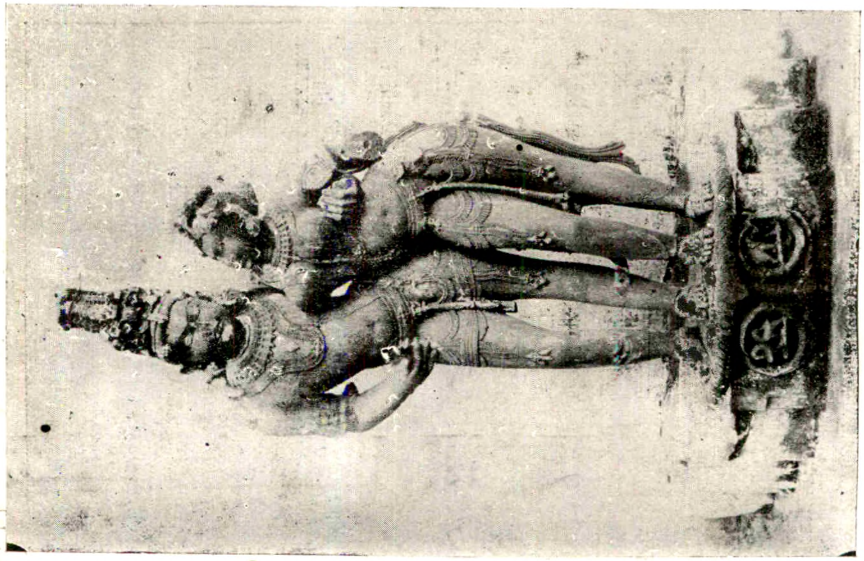

FIG. III.] Indra and Sachi (?)

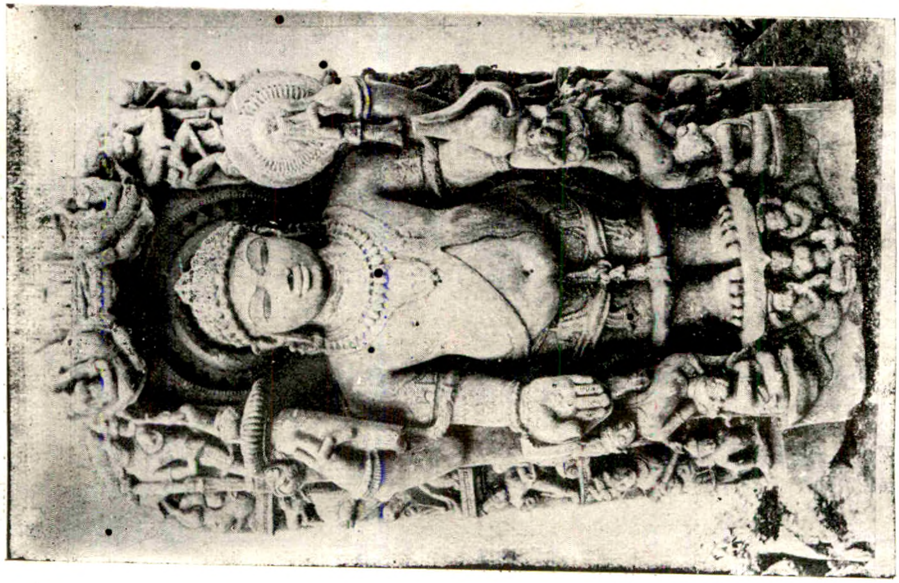

FIG. IV.] Vamana

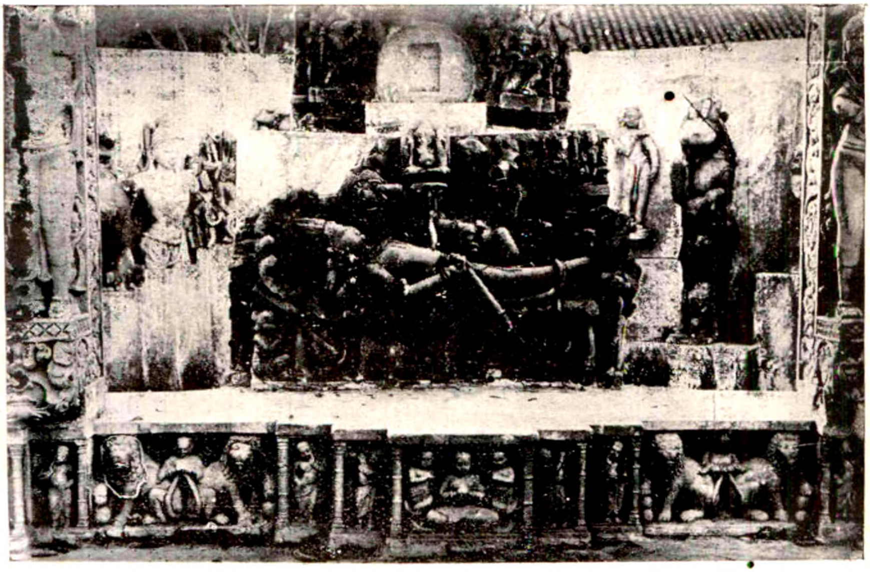

FIG. V.] Vishnu in Ananta-sayya

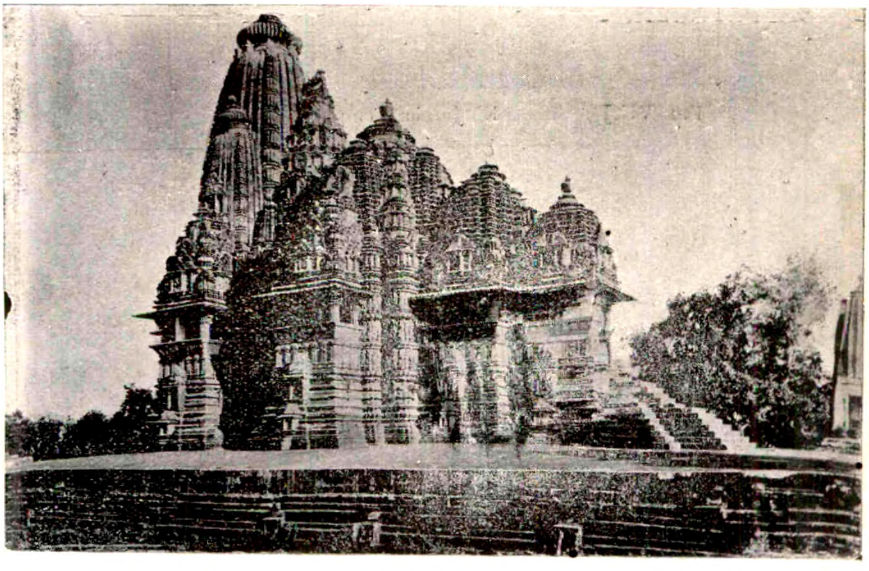

FIG. VI.] Khejuraha Temple

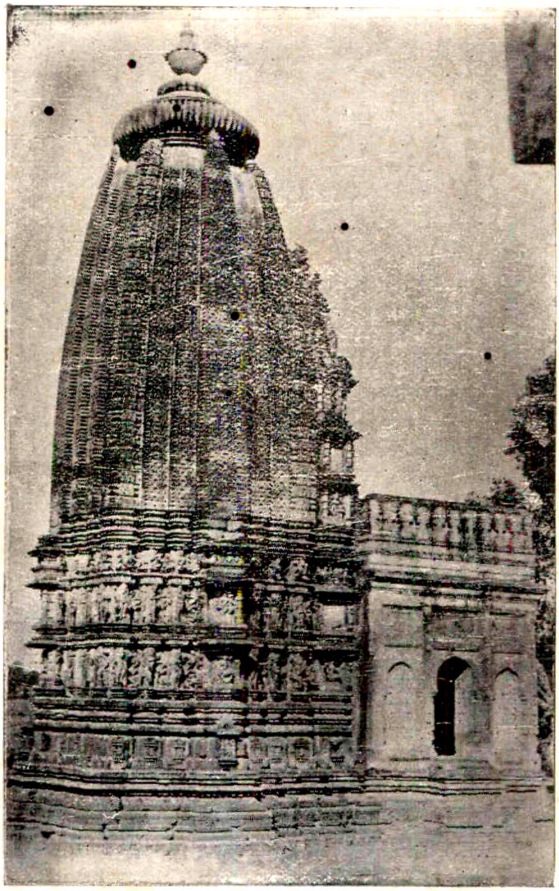

FIG. VII.] Khejuraha Temple

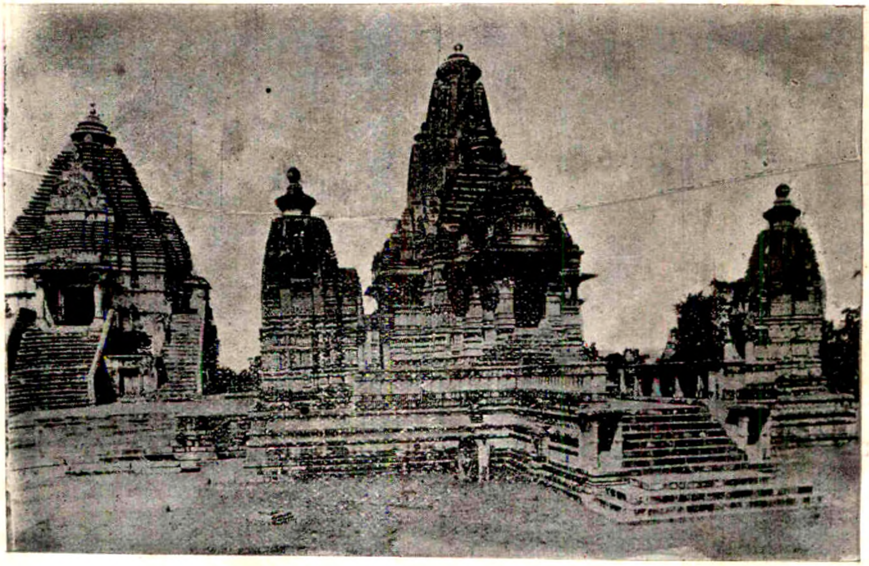

FIG. VIII.] Khejuraha Temple

CHHATTARPUR IN BUNDELKHAND

H. H. the Maharaja Biswanath Singh Bahadur, the present ruler of Chhattarpur in Bundelkhand, Central India, is a striking personality. He is about fifty-six years old, a slim figure—rather short-statured and of a light brown complexion. His eyes, under prominent eyebrows, sparkle with animation in ardent conversations, and his sudden and hearty laughter is an index to the candour and warmth of his heart. His Highness has of late been suffering from various chronic diseases but the geniality of his temper has kept him above all physical pain. He is thoroughly conversant with Sanskrit philosophy and is a profound scholar in English, speaking that tongue with an easy grace and fluency. There is nothing like superficiality in his attainments. When he takes up a subject, he dives deep into it until he has acquired a thorough mastery over its details. When I was explaining to him the principles of the Bengali Shahaja cult, he referred to some analogous practices prevalent amongst the ancient Greeks, and while the topic turned to Vaishnavism, His Highness drew parallels from Kant's philosophy. The Maharaja is particularly fond of learned discussions specially on religious matters. Towards this end his purse is always open. He invites scholars from all parts of India in order to have an opportunity of discussing the knotty problems of the Hindu religion with them. However learned a scholar may be in his special branch of study, Maharaja Biswanath has the capacity and power of trying his lance and of hitting at the weak points of his opponent. The popular notion about him is that he is a devout and orthodox Vaishnav. But one talking with him on religious subjects will find nothing of crudeness or orthodoxy in his views which are characterised by a broadness and liberality for which one is scarcely prepared. His Highness takes interest even in discussing Charvak's philosophy, and would not reject sophistry and scepticism without meeting the subtle points of its doctrines on fair ground. His mother died about twelve years ago, and for ten years after her death, he did not use any bedstead but slept on a plain rug spread over the bare floor. Owing to his ill health during the last two years, he has been using a *khatia* or a *charpoi* of an ordinary kind used by poor people. His Highness is lavish of expenditure in all matters, of course, within the limits of economy consistent with his income. His guest-houses, both for Indians and Europeans, are furnished with all the equipments and luxuries befitting modern tastes, where every visitor is welcome. He has spent nearly a lac of rupees over a Krishna temple, but he himself lives the life of an ascetic, denying himself even the ordinary comforts of life. I found him warming himself with fire, preserved in a poor earthen pot. The people of his city use things locally made at Chhattarpur, which has its own sculptors, artists, weavers and makers of all kinds of metal utensils ; and one has scarcely to go outside for purchasing things necessary for everyday life. In their weal and woe, in their distress and festivals, the Maharaja is the true *Mā bāp* of his subjects and they put absolute faith in him as the child does in his parents. The simple life of the people of Chhattarpur is certainly a lesson to us. What a contrast with the Bengalees even of lower classes, who are mad after trinkets of European make and go on borrowing when their limited means fail to appease their unwholesome thirst for luxuries ! The people of Chhattarpur are evidently content with their simple life, and when extreme poverty overtakes them, they feel assured that the State would come to their rescue and save them.

The Maharaja claims descent from the celebrated *Agnikul Kshattriyas* who sprang from the lustral fire of the old sage Viswamitra on the sacred hill of Abu. He belongs to the Panwar clan who played a leading part in the Medieval History of Rajputana and Central India and are still represented in the latter by the chiefs of the sister States of Rajgarh and Narasing.

I have dwelt on the outstanding personality of the Maharaja at some length. His city is a perfect type of cleanliness. Repairs and improvements on large scales are going on everywhere in the city. There is no end of temples within the limits of Chhattarpur. These temples are nowhere dilapidated or in ruins. The Municipal arrangements are so perfect that the city seems fresh and smiling as if built to-day. This description, however, does not exhaust all the interesting things to be met with within the jurisdiction of Chhattarpur Raj. The Maharaja has obtained a large inheritance of a good many places of historical and artistic fame, and this lends a great interest to Chhattarpur. Of these let me first speak of the Rajgarh palace.

About thirty miles from Chhattarpur we motored through extensive tracts abounding with mango and *mahua* trees and reached Rajgarh in the noon. As we proceeded in our way we perceived a gradual ascent, wave-like but steady, and the *garh* looked from distance like a mound covered with shrubs and plants, till we reached a red path, winding round the mound, which proved to be a hillock, about 500 feet high from the ground level. As we ascended the hill we saw large sheets of water, at first looking like silver courses, reminding us of Kalidasa's **मन्दाकिनी भाति नगोपकण्ठे मुक्तावली कण्ठगतैव भूमौ** and gradually as we came nearer, expanding into beautiful artificial lakes which delighted the eyes by their charming transparence.

Our motor stopped at the foot of what looked like a tall cliff, with an ascent of nearly 400 steps—all broad and high and made of stone. The State palanquin was ready for us, but we preferred to climb the steps and observe the things around more closely. It was a great strain on our nerves, but anyhow we succeeded in coming to the highest point where we found a cave covertly lying across the pathway but as we entered it, it grew wider and wider. Suddenly rose to our view a strange palace, created as if by the touch of a magician's wand. A great arch revealed itself to us, splendidly decorated with floral paintings of the sixteenth century. Surrounded on all sides with green plants and water courses, this coloured arch measuring about a hundred feet in diameter afforded a lively contrast. Through the opening overhung by this wonderful arch, looking like the gorgeous background of the image of our goddess Durga, we were ushered into a large hall, so gigantic and magnificent that one could take it to be the dwelling place of a mightier race of men than ourselves—the pigmies of the present generation. Numberless stone pillars rose high up with artistic designs at the top, placed in rows and leading to stone rooms and halls of great dimensions. Silent as death itself but all in perfectly good order of preservation, we imagined this mighty *garh* to be the abode of spirits loitering somewhere in the daytime, who would come back and rest here in the night. Rooms after rooms, pillars after pillars with beautiful arches curved like a lady's eyebrows displayed a panorama of sights of great sculptural beauty and of chiselled labour. The grand palace appeared like what a child would dream after having heard the Arabian Night's tales. Over the top of this huge three-storied construction lay parapets like crowns with openings at short intervals for a thousand guns to be shot at once from each side. It was really like a palace where a monarch of old after his weary wars abroad would come back and shut his eyes in sleep with a sense of perfect security against his formidable foes. As I walked over the verandahs sufficiently long and wide for horse race, as I saw from the top the vast hilly tracts, the silvery streams, the great audience-halls and massive stone-pillars that gave to the palace, not, indeed, an air of awe, but of perfect security, I asked His Highness, who was my honoured companion, as to why he preferred to live at Chhattarpur when he possessed such a wonderful palace which the Panna Rajas had built about three hundred years ago. This grand palace with its picturesque environments of hilly lands made an impression on me never to be effaced from my mind. It refreshed the memory of the descriptions of palaces of fairies and demons that I had heard in childhood.

Rajgarh was built by Maharaja Hindupati of Panwar clan, a descendant of King Chhattrasal of Bundelkhand (B. 1650).

Great interest of Indian antiquarians, however, centres in the historic temples of Khejuraha, which have already drawn the attention of orientalists. The monuments, architectural remains and statues there are so vast and multifarious that a minute study of them will require many years of hard toil and industry of scholars. These statues and temples are attributed by popular tradition to Chandravarman, the founder of the Chandel dynasty. Though he may have given the first start, the monuments reached a flowering point of architectural and sculptural glory during the reign of his successor Chandrakirtti Varman (775 A.D.) and of Dhanj Deo. The latter had established the Kalinjar fort about thirty-five miles south-east of Bundelkhand and forty miles north-east of Khejuraha. One is struck with wonder as he views these glorious monuments of the Chandel Rajas. The statues have mostly been gathered together and placed in a plot of ground, covering an area of hundred *bighas*, arranged in rows. This plot is practically filled not only with statues but with doorways, gates, towers and other architectural and sculptural relics. The eyes of the observer will feast in this vast panorama of archaic remains. All the deities of the Hindu, the Jain and the Buddhistic pantheons, the ten incarnations of Vishnu, prominently those of the great Boar, the half-man and half-lion Narasingha, the divine dwarf, the Vamana, and beautiful images of the Buddha and of the Jain Thirthankaras are to be seen in this museum constructed under the supervision of the British government but owned and maintained by the State. The research scholar will feel the same difficulty in studying the statues which Shahabuddin Ghori, the great iconoclast, experienced in destroying them when he gave an historical importance to the place by his campaign in 1203 A.D. He came like a storm and in the course of his rapid expedition of conquest could only break a few of the most prominent figures. Some of the most beautiful figures on bas relief have remained unhurt, far above at the top of the gateways and in the interior of the temples. He had no time to stay for completing his work of destruction and but superficially performed his iconoclastic mission. Scholars have now and then visited those wonderful relics but like Shahabuddin Ghori, they could not deal with them in a minute way for shortness of time and funds. I give here facsimiles of a few figures. The image of the Buddha (Fig. II.) as shown here is in no way less interesting than that of the Barabodur temple of Java, over which Mr. Havell is in raptures. The most ancient and beautiful image of the Buddha has not yet been noticed by scholars and orientalists. It is lying hidden in a niche in the Tilavandeshwar temple of Benares, and the Pandas have given it the name of Jata Sankar. The Jata is not, indeed, the knotted hair of Siva, but the leaves of the great fig tree under which the Buddha attained his Nirvana and which have been mistaken as Siva's Jata by the Hindu Pandas. The great interest of the Khejuraha temples lies in the erotic figures of which I have got a number of photographs. Though taste would not permit of their reproduction, yet I, an old man, find nothing repelling in these sexual pictures. Nay, the smiling and jubilant faces of men and women enjoying themselves, have a grace and innocence which seem to verge on spiritual symbolism. Men and women are represented in hundreds of poses, so graceful and loving, that a scholar would be tempted to pass years in this fascinating field of study. There are many inscriptions on the temples, some of which have not yet been deciphered. All the lovely coils of creepers laden with floral wreaths, all the innocence of buds blooming into flowers, all the simple joy of manhood that gives a tenderness to masculine grace have been brought out by a touch of chisel in the figures on bas relief, illustrating the union of the sexes and forming a tangle which shows the lovely modes of a picturesque natural scenery. How fine these are is beyond my power to describe. My stay was short, so that all that I saw of Khejuraha is now to me a midsummer night's dream and more than this I cannot say. The sculptures and models at Khejuraha seemed to me mostly of the type of Bengal and Orissa art.

The third interesting thing that I saw in this Feudatory State is the Mau-palace. It was built by Maharaja Hindupati and had at first belonged to the Panwar Rajas. It was latterly occupied and enlarged by King Chhattrasal of the Chandel dynasty. Rajgarh and Khejuraha stand in solitary grandeur in the midst of a large uninhabited tract abounding with mango and *mahua* trees of a dwarfish size. We found peacocks displaying their plumes and dancing, and the deer drinking at the fountains, in this hilly land which, however, is without any forest. But the Mau-palace in all approaches to it from outside showed inhabited localities and their gradual ascent was made imperceptible by a slow and easy slope. The houses of people and the temples were generally brick-work, interspersed with tiled roofs and there was nothing like congestion. As we entered the Mau-palace, the same types of pillars and halls that we had seen at Rajgarh accosted our eyes, though here these were smaller in size and not so striking. But as we came to the eastern halls, our eyes were startled by a strange sight, which, once seen, will ever be in the memory of the visitor. Passing through a garden of flower-trees displaying all the wealth of variegated colours, pink, red, white and purple—of fruit trees, hanging down with their rich burdens, we came to a verandah, supported by massive stone pillars, which rose from underground like stalwart guards to watch over the palace, and at the feet of these pillars lay a vast sheet of clear and transparent water extending over miles. It is an artificial lake of which if one would like to travel all the four sides, it would mean a journey of six miles. The vast reservoir of water is of a crescent shape and bound on all sides by solid stones which looked like a thin thread faintly indicating the crescent form of the lake. This vast body of water is of azure blue without any dirt or weed but fragrant with the scent of flowers from the palace garden and transparent as a solid piece of glass. Sitting in the terrace of the palace, one might look at it unceasingly and yet the charm of the place would not be diminished. In one corner of this great lake lay a small temple and within it a flock of geese swam easily looking like white dots in an extensive blue field. Though I was in haste to catch the train, I was in no mood to leave this place of enchantment, which cast a magic spell on my mind.

I was for twelve days in Chattarpur and the things that I saw in this land of romance are never to be forgotten. I was there during the nights of the waning moon, and the dark blue of the sky I saw there was grander than what I have seen of it anywhere else. Here, in Calcutta, the atmosphere covered with soot and smoke, incessantly issuing from the ever-working mills, hangs on the city like the dark veil of a horrible wench concealing in the folds of her scarf the germs of all foul diseases. The sky is not seen but only the semblance of it through the smoke. At Chhattarpur, the darkness of the sky was grand, the blue of the sky in its brilliant clearness studded with stars shining like diamonds, was a sublime sight. There is no damp in the atmosphere and in October when I was there, the weather was delightfully cold. I was charmed with the solemn darkness of the night, and Mrs. Jackson who enjoyed it equally with me, wrote a fortnight later that the moonlit nights were even grander. I have a vivid impression of a temple dedicated to Ram, which I saw on the top of a small hill at Chhattarpur. I had to pass through a flight of 200 stairs before reaching the temple. I found the temple closed and saw the sacred images through openings. The most prominent of these was the Hanuman, the monkey chief. There was a single *chameli* plant in the delightful compound, where thousands of white and fragrant flowers bloomed, spreading their scent in the air, looking like the silent tributes of Nature to the gods of the temple.

The minister of the Raja, Rai Bahadur Sukdeo Behari Misra, is known all over India as the historian of Hindi literature. He is a person of outstanding merit. His studies, vast and varied in their range, his administrative abilities and his literary talents are justly praised by all Hindi-speaking people. On the first day I had taken him for a European and was agreeably surprised afterwards to find him to be an Indian of high enlightenment. The Maharaja who is a lover of literature must be given credit for selecting his minister, so highly efficient and disinterested. The Maharaja's secretary, Mr. Gulab Ray, M.A., LL.B., is a person of quiet dignity and of unassuming and pleasing manners. I am proud of the friendship that I have contracted with these personages during my short stay there.

One word more before I conclude. The Maharaja is a Vaishnava of Gauriya order. It is known to all Vaishnavas that the activities of Rup, Sanatan, Jiva and Gopal Bhatta in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries popularised the Chaitanya religion in Upper India. From an inscription in the greatest Vaishnava temple in Vrindavan built by Man Singha we find that he was a disciple of Rup and Sanatan, a fact which is substantiated by the Bhaktamala and referred to in the pages of the History of Mathura by Growse. Maharaja Biswanath of Chhattarpur is a disciple of a descendant of Adwaitacharyya of Santipur. It was at my suggestion that he agreed to instal the images of Chaitanya, Nityananda and Adwaitacharyya in the Krishna temple of Chhattarpur that he has recently built. The installation ceremony came off on the 5th of May last, and I regret to say that though cordially invited to join the function I could not do so owing to ill health. It will be a good news to many Vaishnavas of Bengal that a Khsattriya Raja of Central India has established the images of our own apostles in his city. This will add to the many attractions of Chhattarpur for Bengali scholars to visit the place.

DINESHCHANDRA SEN

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

The third anniversary[1] of the sad and untimely death of Sir Asutosh is just over. The sacred memorial ceremony observed with such genuine reverence by his relations, friends, co-workers, followers and admirers in the Darbhanga Buildings on the 25th of May last presented a touching scene of love and regard for the illustrious departed soul whose memory the nation will not easily let die. Was not his verily a soul sent on a high mission—the mission of uplifting through culture a race once truly great but now fallen on evil days ?

The hushed silence of that evening was in perfect accord with our calmer grief. Three years have come and gone. We realised how out of the distance of time might ensue desire of nearness doubly sweet. Regret was buried in love for the human-hearted man—the man with a large heart and a kindly hand. We recalled the massive face always lit up with a genial smile made at times more significant by an occasional humorous twinkle of the ever-brilliant eye.

The complexity of Sir Asutosh's character baffles analysis and makes a just estimate of the many-sided genius of this wonderful man really difficult. The highest culture and tradition of India and the noblest efforts of his own generation of great Indians were summed up in one man. In him was also beautifully and harmoniously blended the highest and best of the East and of the West. He was a great apostle of progressive culture in all directions and along all lines.

An intellectual giant, a mathematician of no mean repute, a brilliant lawyer, an erudite judge of the High Court, a sound scholar, an administrator of the first order, a keen and far-sighted educationist, a genuine nation-builder, a masterful and

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[1] May 25, 1927.

HOMAGE TO THE DEPARTED GREAT

(The 25th May, 1927)

towering personality, a man of sturdy and fearless independence, of infinite energy, of vast capacity for work, of indomitable will possessing force and tact to strive, fashion and achieve, of lofty patriotism and finally of deep piety—in vain do we search for an equal. Where shall we find a man to fill the void left by his premature death ?

Sir Asutosh stood before the public gaze as more than an epitome of his own generation and will remain an invigorating and stimulating example unto generations unborn. A single dominant trait of his character by itself is sufficient to guide all as a never-failing beacon, *viz.*, his selfless devotion to the cause of higher education and advancement of learning than which nothing was dearer to his heart. The Calcutta University with all its limitations and failings, organised as it is to-day through his marvellous efforts, may rightly challenge the admiration of the whole world as a monument to his constructive genius.

The conversion in the teeth of vehement opposition and uninformed adverse criticism of a mere examining body into a Teaching University modestly claiming with a due sense of her shortcomings her legitimate place of honour by the side of the great and prosperous seats of learning of the world—this alone is a glorious achievement of which Bengal is rightly proud to-day and for which the people of Bengal will ever remain grateful to Sir Asutosh. How many years of patient and untiring labour and what tremendous and ungrudging sacrifices were needed to build this solid edifice!

The spheres of his activities were too many for a single man. In spite of these divided claims on his time and energy, the volume of his varied and brilliant achievements in the field of learning and education alone remains unrivalled and will, it appears, stand unsurpassed for many a year to come. He succeeded in carrying out this arduous task through the sheer driving force of his marvellous character strengthened by a dauntless *will to do*. His stirring words uttered on a memorable occasion ring in our ears—" Freedom first, freedom second, and freedom always " but it would have been equally characteristic had he said, " Work first, work second, and work always."

While possessing a masterly grasp of minute details as a thoroughly practical and efficient administrator he was jealous as an idealist in maintaining a high standard of excellence. " No nation," he once said with emphasis, " attained to real eminence as a nation unless they maintained in a state of the highest efficiency and excellence their chief seat of learning." This high ideal was responsible for what has in some quarters been condemned as " thoughtless " expansion of higher studies in the Calcutta University.

The organisation of the Post- Graduate Departments in Arts and Science and Technology is unquestionably the highest result of his lofty patriotism, keen farsightedness, ardent zeal for learning and culture and long vision as a true idealist. At one bold step he succeeded in placing his own *Alma Mater* in the forefront of all the Universities of the vast continent of India. This sound and elaborate scheme of studies with its ample provision for research in all departments of knowledge, ancient and modern, at last justified the motto of the premier University of India. Sir Asutosh's own University has now undertaken the heavy responsibility of efficiently teaching no less than 25 subjects in their higher branches and of affording tuition to students in a variety of modern languages. The work done by the Post-Graduate Departments has been recognised by the World of Letters and Science. The noble ideal which has borne this fruit is very aptly embodied in one of his pithy utterances—"Search for the truth is the noblest occupation of man; its publication a paramount duty."

He not only possessed inexhaustible enthusiasm but knew how to infuse it into others less fortunate and thus became an unfailing source of inspiration to young men of the right stamp to whom his warm sympathy was unstintedly extended. Their personal devotion to him is a proof of their thankful acknowledgment of his generous help and of the stimulation given to their efforts in extending the bounds of knowledge by patient study and arduous industry.

All this Sir Asutosh accomplished in spite of the combined opposition of a very influential body of men in power and with the meagre help of limited public funds most grudgingly placed in his hands and that after a strenuous fight carried on from day to day through many long years.

The Post-Graduate organisation is a pioneer's work and has its defects. No sensible man forgets that there is considerable room for improvement. Let us not as its critics also forget that nothing human is perfect. The foundation has been truly laid. A highly creditable amount of good work has already been done. Much yet remains to do. We should all now work in mutual trust and fellowship and concentrate our powers and efforts on the task of its consolidation, financial stability, correlation and co-ordination of activities, economy where economy is not inconsistent with efficiency and further progress and advance within the limits of all available resources.

The day, let us hope, of frontal attacks on the reconstructed Calcutta University is now gone. Sir Asutosh has left it to his countrymen as a legacy and a sacred trust. All true lovers of the country and sincere friends of the youth of Bengal will anxiously watch and patiently wait to see how the responsibility of administering the nation's trust is discharged and posterity will give its dispassionate verdict as to how we acquit ourselves. As for those who are directly engaged in the daily work of the Post-Graduate Departments, may genuine grief chasten them and make them wise!

The reorganisation of the secondary education of a vast province like Bengal at this critical juncture is naturally the burning question of the day and there is a good deal of controversy over this very important matter. But this is not the occasion for the discussion of a controversial thing and we therefore prefer to keep silence on that point.

Let us finish with a word about technical education. Here we cannot do better than give a single extract from one of Sir Asutosh's illuminating Convocation Speeches :—

"Let me," he said in 1922, "emphasise that though much has already been achieved, more still remains to be accomplished, especially, in the direction of expansion of what may be called industrial studies. * * * Industry and education will march forward, more and more, hand in hand, for this is pre-eminently a time to awaken industry and education alike. Industry in its many-sided interests will look to education for enlightenment and support, and out of the laboratories of the University will emanate in an ever-increasing measure the influences that make for economic and industrial improvement and contribute to the betterment of human living and to the good of mankind. I have in my mind particularly the development of technological studies in the broadest sense of that expression, not merely in the University but also in hundreds of schools in the province where the students and teachers alike legitimately display a hopeful yearning for vocational training unhappily not yet satisfied."

JAYGOPAL BANERJEE

Reviews

Bihar and Orissa, 1925-26, by Mr. B. Abdy Collins, C.I.E., published by the Superintendent, Government Printing, Bihar and Orissa, Gulzarbagh, Patna. Price Rupee One a copy.

The most striking feature of the year under review is the favoured treatment accorded to the *Transferred* Departments of the Government. It is a well-known fact that in other provinces owing to financial difficulties the schemes prepared by the Ministers-in-charge of the Transferred Departments, cannot be fully given effect to. But such is not the case with Bihar and Orissa. *Education* and not the *Police* is the chief spending department, having increased its share of the expenditure from eleven to fifteen per cent. in five years. Altogether, the Transferred Departments get forty-two per cent. of the money available. It is further to be noted that the Reserved Departments include *Irrigation* and *Forests* and these account for six per cent. of the provincial expenditure. Though there is no hope of large sums being available for schemes involving recurring charges yet judging from the figures noted in the report it can safely be asserted that the province is solvent. But the most disquieting feature is that the volume of litigation shows a continuous tendency to increase so much so that separate arrangements had to be made to dispose of the suits. An interesting experiment was the establishment of a class at the Gaya Central Jail for the compulsory education of all Hindi-speaking prisoners of twenty-five years and under, serving sentences of over two years. The prisoners are taught tailoring, weaving and other practical subjects, besides reading, writing and arithmetic. We also find nearly six per cent. of the male population are attending primary education institutions of all kinds.

ESKARE

The Rāmāyana, for Boys and Girls (Young India Readers), Grade V, by Mohini Mohan Mukherjee, M.A., Professor of English, Asutosh College, Bhowanipur. Price 5 *as.* (Oxford University Press, 1926), Illustrated.

This is, on the whole, a very successful attempt to present to Indian readers in our English schools the story of the immortal epic of Valmiki.

The author has shown himself to be possessed of no ordinary skill as a story-teller. Throughout his book, though there is no want of picturesque detail, the main thread of his narrative is never lost sight of, the types of character are brought into clear relief, the descriptions which have a truly epic variety are rendered in an admirable fashion. The author's English style is always chaste and idiomatic. The interest of the book for juveniles is increased by the attractive pictures which it contains. The general get-up and print are all that can be expected of a publishing house of the reputation of the Oxford University Press.

U. N. GHOSAL

Annual Report on Emigration to Labour Districts (Assam, Cachar and Sylhet), 1926, by Lt.-Col. A. Denham White, M.B., F.R.C.S.E., I.M.S., published by the Government of India, Central Publication Branch Calcutt. Price Annas Twelve a copy.

During the period under report we find that twenty-seven local agent's licenses were granted by the District Superintendents of Emigration of Bankura, Birbhum, Burdwan, Jessore, Khulna, Midnapore, Murshidabad, Nadia and the 24-Parganahs as against eighteen licenses granted in the previous year. Five-hundred and twelve garden *Sardars*, including eighty-eight *Sardarnis* were employed and worked under the control of the licensed local agents. The total number of emigrants recruited by garden *Sardars* working in and outside Bengal was 9,442 as against 12,638 in the previous year. Of these, 9,426 were despatched to the labour districts. 4,839 left for Assam, 1,433 for Cachar and 3,154 for Sylhet.

S. K. R.

Ourselves

THE MATRICULATION EXAMINATION.

The number of candidates registered for the Matriculation Examination, 1927, was 15,754 of whom 15,626 candidates actually took the examination. The number of successful candidates is 8,388 of whom 4,618 passed in the First Division, 3,266 in the Second Division and 504 in the Third Division,—the percentage of pass being 53·95.

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RESULTS OF L. T. AND B. T. EXAMINATIONS.

L. T.—

The number of candidates registered for the L. T. Examination was 27 of whom 23 passed.

B. T.—

The number of candidates registered for the B. T. Examination was 63 of whom 49 passed, 13 failed and one was absent. Of the successful candidates 13 were placed in the First Division.

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KAMALA LECTURE.

Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganganath Jha, M.A., D.Lit., Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University, has been appointed Kamala Lecturer for the year under review. The subject of his lecture is *Philosophical Discipline*. We understand that an attempt was made in vain to secure the services of a distinguished Mahomedan poet.

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READERSHIP LECTURE.

Professor C. K. Webster, M.A., who was appointed University Reader, will deliver a course of six lectures on the "European Alliance: 1815-1825" next cold weather.

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TWO NEW UNIVERSITY CHAIRS.

The following communication was received from the Government of Bengal on the subject of creating the Asutosh Chairs in Sanskrit and in Islamic Culture:

"GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION.
Education Branch.
No. 173-T. Edn.

FROM
J. H. LINDSAY, ESQ., M.A., I.C.S.,
SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL,

TO
THE REGISTRAR,
CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

Darjeeling, April, 1927.

THE HON. MR. BYOMKES CHAKRAVARTI,
Minister-in-charge.

SIR,

I am directed to refer to your letter No. A-357, dated the $\frac{19\text{th}}{22\text{nd}}$ September, 1925, and to say that the Government of Bengal in the Ministry of Education have decided to make an annual grant of Rs. 12,000 to the University for the appointmet of a Professor of Islamic Studies and Culture in the Post-Graduate Department of the University. A provision of Rs. 8,000 has, accordingly, been made in the current year's Education Budget for the purpose.

2. I am now to request you to be so good as to submit proposals for an appointment to a chair of this nature and to furnish Government with what the University consider to be proper conditions for the tenure of the Professorship. They would also be glad to know what demonstrators or other Assistants could be assigned to the new professor so that an efficient department could be established.

3. In this connection, I am also to refer to your letter No. C-4761-P.G., dated the 29th June, 1926, and to this office letter No. 3226-Edn., dated the 25th September, 1926, about the establishment of two Chairs to be known respectively as the Asutosh Professorship of Sanskrit and the Asutosh Professorship of Islamic Culture in the University and to enquire whether, in view of the circumstances stated above, the University contemplates the submission of revised proposals for the utilisation of the fund accruing from the rentals realised from the shops on the ground-floor of the Asutosh Building.

I have, etc.,
J. H. LINDSAY,
Secretary to the Government of Bengal."

whereupon the Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate passed the following order :

(1) That the offer be accepted with thanks.

(2) That the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Department of Education, be informed that appointments will be made in the terms of Chapter IX of the Regulations, and that rules under Sec. 7 of the same Chapter will be framed by the Senate.

(3) That a copy of the letter be sent to each member of the following Committee for drawing up Rules and for making suggestions as to the *utilisation of the surplus money set free* :—

The Vice-Chancellor.
E. F. Oaten, Esq., M.A., LL.B., M.L.C.
Sir Nilratan Sircar, Kt., M.A., M.D., LL.D., D.C.L.
Khan Bahadur Maulvi Ahsanullah, M.A., M.R.A.S.
Prof. Pramathanath Banerjea, M.A., D.Sc., Bar.-at-Law, M.L.C.

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POST-GRADUATE DEPARTMENT AND THE PRESIDENCY COLLEGE.

We have been requested to publish the following:

"FROM

J. H. LINDSAY, ESQ., M.A., I.C.S.,

Secretary to the Government of Bengal,

To

THE REGISTRAR,

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

Darjeeling, the 23rd April, 1927.

THE HON'BLE MR. BYOMKES CHAKRAVARTI,

Minister-in-charge.

SIR,

I am directed to refer to the correspondence ending with your letter No. C 2700 P.G. (Rec.), dated the 30th November, 1926, on the subject of the co-operation of the staff of the Presidency College in the scheme for Post-graduate teaching in the Calcutta University. In that correspondence an agreement has been arrived at between the University and Government on the recommendation of the Presidency College Committee on the terms of co-operation, as contained on pages 6 and 7 of their final Report, a copy of which was forwarded to you with this office letter No. 3775 Edn., dated the 15th November 1926. I am now to address the University regarding the remaining recommendations made by the Committee.

2. *Extent of Co-operation*—The proposals of the Committee in this regard are set out in paragraph 7 of their second *ad interim* report (copy forwarded to you with this office letter referred to above). These proposals were arrived at in consultation with the Post-graduate Re-organisation Committee of Calcutta University, who in paragraph 43 of their Majority Report, have also made identical recommendations on the subject. I am to request that the University will be so good as to favour Government with their opinion on these joint proposals of the two Committees.

3. *Laboratories*—Government have had a set of rules drawn up to give effect to the recommendation of the Presidency College Committee under this head. I am now to enclose a copy and to enquire whether the draft rules meet with the approval of the University.

4. *Library*—Government are of opinion that the principle of reciprocity, advocated by the Committee, cannot be arranged for the following reasons:—

(1) the number of University students is very large and additional staff will be required at the College to arrange for the lending out of books to them;

(2) the collection of money deposits at the College, which is usual in such cases, will involve a great deal of extra work and will complicate accounts;

(3) the College Library is not large enough to allow of extra students reading there. As it is, there is very little room for the Presidency College men who number over 1,000 to read in the library and the addition of several hundreds of men from the University will make reading in the library impossible;

(4) if the books are taken out by the University students from the College library it will be necessary to arrange for duplicate or triplicate copies of several hundreds of volumes; otherwise many members of the staff, and students, of the College will be unable to consult works, which they at present use.

For these reasons Government feel that the proposal must be dropped, though ~~the Principal of the~~ College will be prepared to make arrangements in special case for a Post-graduate student, recommended by the University, to consult any book required by him, which is otherwise unobtainable.

I have the honour to be,
SIR,
Your most obedient servant,
J. H. LINDSAY,
Secretary to the Government of Bengal."

* * *

JOGENDRACHANDRA GHOSE RESEARCH PRIZE.

The following subject is selected for the Jogendrachandra Ghose Research Prize in Comparative Indian Law for the year 1927:

"A comparative study of the Law of Evidence according to the Smritis."

The attention of the intending candidates is expressly called to the following conditions laid down for the prize:

(i) By comparative Indian Law shall be meant the Hindu Smriti Sastra called "Byabaharkhanda" and a comparison of the standard Sanskrit authorities on the subject with British Indian Law as contained in Parliamentary Statutes, Regulations and Acts of the Indian Legislative Council, and the law as laid down in leading cases. The study, which it shall be the object of the prize to encourage, is the history of the Hindu Smriti Sastra as it existed at and from the time when India came under British rule and how and to what extent it has been altered under British influence, regard being had not only to the existing Statutes, Regulations and Acts but also to those which, having been in operation for a time, have now been repealed or become obsolete and regard being also had not only to the existing leading cases but to cases which were considered leading at one time, but have now been overruled, and how and to what extent such alteration has affected Hindu society.

(*ii*) The essay may deal with the whole of the Indian Comparative Law as before defined or with part or parts thereof; but in no case shall an essay be entitled to competition which in any way attacks the religious belief, usages or institutions of His Majesty's subjects.

(*iii*) By Adhyapak shall be meant scholars of the Smriti Sastra, students of the Smriti in the Government Sanskrit College in Calcutta and in the *tols* of indigenous Brahmanical schools which send in candidates for the title examinations held in that College, and students in other similar institutions in India.

(*iv*) Every candidate for the prize shall be required to indicate generally in a preface to his thesis and specially in notes, the sources from which his information is taken, the extent to which he has availed himself of the work of others and the portion of thesis which he claims as original. He shall further be required to state whether his research has been conducted immediately, under advice or in co-operation with others, and in what respects his investigations appear to him to tend to the advancement of knowledge.

(*v*) Successful candidates shall be required to publish their essays, and if necessary they shall receive help from the University for the purpose.

(*vi*) The essay or essays shall be written, either in English or in Bengali, but if any competitor sends in an essay in a vernacular language other than Bengali he shall be bound to furnish an English translation thereof.

* * * *

STATE SCHOLARSHIPS.

Two State Scholarships of £300 a year tenable for three years in the United Kingdom with the usual War Bonus will be awarded this year by the Government of Bengal in the Ministry of Education to the best Hindu and Mahomedan candidates respectively. The University has been asked to nominate three Hindus and three Mahomedans for the purpose.

and it has now—at the seventh Assembly—been increased to fourteen. Though this latest increase is attributed to a desire "to take account in a more comprehensive and equitable measure of the principle of geographical distribution of seats," it must be explained as due to persistent demands which could not practically be ignored, and it yet remains to be seen whether the Council will continue its effectiveness undiminished. With the privilege of special representation, each state not regularly represented on the Council could prevent any serious compromise of its interests, and the larger body has now lost a certain psychological advantage in its deliberations. The desire for regular representation on the Council gives fresh indication, however, of the prestige already acquired for this new method of international co-operation.

It is a bit surprising that through these seven years the work of the Council has proceeded so smoothly. This is not because many questions about its organisation and procedure do not still remain open. The allocation of functions as between the Assembly and the Council has never been clearly determined. The Covenant provides that both may deal "with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world"; yet the uncertainty has caused little friction since the time of the first Assembly when a conflict arose over their jurisdiction as to mandates. Nor has it been formally determined what constitutes that interest in a matter which will entitle a state to special representation on the Council. Questions as the requirement of unanimity remain open, also, and when the Mosul dispute was being heard, they necessitated a request for an advisory opinion from the Permanent Court of International Justice. But in spite of these points and others which might be mentioned, the willingness to co-operate has been such that the Council has been able to carry on, and gradually a practice accumulates itself which may serve the needs of the future. I think the Council's success far exceeds what most cautious students would have been willing to predict